# England enjoy a rare good run

Mike Selvey in Port Elizabeth

ITH 1995 already deep in derlying state of the England team still problematic, it is been achieved in the past 12

A year ago in Sydney, England went into the third Test after maulings in Brisbane and Melbourne with their confidence as tattered as the burst spinnakers in the Sydney-Hobart yacht race. Things, it would play well another day. And when the burst spinnakers in the Sydneybe fair to say, were at a low ebb.

What a difference a year makes. Starting at the SCG, where they came within a whisker of victory, England played a total of 13 Tests, winning in Adelaide and then beating West Indies at Lord's and Old Trafford last summer.

Against that they lost three times: convincingly, to a superior side, in | rot-free zone — but despite some unfortunately, given the appalling conditions presented to both sides, at Edgbaston. The other seven

games were drawn. Within these bare statistics, however, there are signs of stability. Last Saturday's draw here, the now gone seven Tests without defeat. It is 14 years since England last enjoyed such a run.

with the previous 12 months when I vividly illustrated than in his rear- | tack all series but, perhaps, to make | with ease.

Many returning weary from

(8) less eminence

he sister (7)

Shrew (9)

2 One causing breach in

accountant's affliction (7)

13 Ruler turning on a man of feith

15 Renewed grant to tame the.

17 Expert and apprentice break

in the same number of Tests — against West Indies, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia — they won the same number of games, three, but were beaten in twice as many, six. The obvious conclusion is that although England are not yet a team able to storm citadels — of the modern Australia or the erstwhile West Indies - they are a damned sight harder to beat.

As the current series is showing, that buys time: avoid defeat when you do that often enough it becomes a habit every bit as much as does losing.

Some of the credit for this harder attitude goes to Raymond Illingworth. The England manager is not the supreme master of psychology he believes himself to be — his philosophy is stick-oriented in a carodd selections and antipathies has helped inject toughness into elements of the side.

man at the sharp end. He has led England in 28 consecutive Tests now, and lost 10. But four of the defeats came in his first seven matches; six defeats in 21 subsequent matches sounds much more respectable. "We have to become harder to beat," has been his clarion

guard at The Wanderers, he has I them wonder if they are quite as shown what is possible. And though | good as they make themselves out it would be good to see the team do | to be. Twice now, in Johannesburg without the captain having to show the way, his colleagues are be land have gone into the final day ginning to respond. Here Atherton had the sort of and instead have lost a total of four

2 Protective gear in front of the

4 Flan, unopened, in great place

5 One with authority to bid about

6 Bust of model (approximately)

7 Find innocent creature following

3 For certain, it will get

complicated (9)

to buy a ticket (7)

one into the river (9)

10 Badge of the Mediterranean

apply careful scrutiny (9)

16 It may be upset, but Is fit to

self-obsession (7)

round bearing (7)

14 Flights go round it, it's said, to

carry suspicious parcel (5.4)

22 Get used to being in flower (5)

24 True centre of Roman Empire (5)

curtain (5)

Twisting and turning . . . South Africa's young spinner Paul Adams More credit goes to Atherton, the | in action on his Test debut PHOTOGRAPH: CLIVE MASON.

and here at St George's Park, Engfaced with the probability of defeat wickets. Not only has defeat been In his own way, never more | not only to blunt the South Africa at | avoided, this has been managed

SOUTH AFRICA

Scoreboard

A C Hurbon & Russoll & Cark G Kirston c Thorpe b Itali W J Cronje e Atherion h Martin D J Cultinan e Russell b Cork N Phodes c Smith b Cork B N McMillan c Russol b llingworth 1D J Richardson e Russell b Minaworth S M Pollock low b Cork CR Matthews at Russell b lingworth A A Donald not out PR Adama run out Extras (fb1 1, nb6)

Total (159.5 overs)

Vol 154; No 2

Week ending January 14, 1996

Seumas Milne and Ian Black

HE British government last

week bowed to pressure from the Saudi regime, the

United States government and British arms companies when it or-

dered the deportation of Saudi Ara-

bia's most prominent dissident to a

Mohammed al-Mas'ari, leader of

the influential London-based Islamic

opposition group, the Committee for the Defence of Legitimate Rights

- who last year applied for political

asylum in Britain — was given 10

days to appeal against his removal

to Dominica, or report to Gatwick

Mr Mas'ari, who escaped from

Saudi Arabia via Yemen, was told by

the Home Office that his application

was being refused "without substan-

tive consideration" and that Edison

James, the prime minister of the for-

mer British colony of Dominica, had

order came on the day the Foreign

Office announced that Andrew

Green, currently in charge of Mid-

dle East policy in London, has been

appointed British ambassador in

nature of the Saudi relationship.

Riyadh — reflecting the pivotal

Mr Mas'ari's removal would be

an enormous relief to the Foreign

Office, which has found his pres-

ence in Britain an embarrassment in

personally demanded Mr Mas'ari's

expulsion when the Foreign Secre-

News of Mr Mas'ari's deportation

agreed to give him asylum.

tiny Caribbean Island

airport on January 19.

**Bowling:** Cork 43.2-12-113-4; **lioti 29.4-7-82-1**; Martin 33-9-79-1; illingworth 39.6-8-106-3, Yel. 121-

First Innings
'M A Alberton c Richardson b Adams
A J Slewari o Richardson b Policia JER Gallen & Culthan b Pollock

G P Thomps c Rhodes b Adams A Hick flow is Donald R A Smith It w b McMillan tR C Russell c Culinan b Donald G Cork c Richardson b Polock R K litingworth c Hardson to Donald P J Martin b Adams M C licit not out Extres (b9, w1, nb9) Total (120.4 overs)

Bowfing: Donald 25.4-7-49-3; Polock 22-6-58-3 Adams 37-13-75-3; Metthews 20-7-42-0; Mckbath 6-30-1; Cronje 1-1-0-0.

**SOUTH AFRICA** Second Innings A C Hudson c Russell b Martin G kirsten o tangworth b Martin W J Cronje o Russell b Martin D J Cutanon at Russell b lilingworth J N Phodes low b Cork B N McMBan & Hick & Cork †D J Richardson c Russell b Cork 3 M Pollock & Cork billingworth Total (for 9 dec. 65 3 evers)

Bowling: Cork 26 3-5-63-3; Martin 17-8-39-3.

Total (for 7, 02 overs)

Bewling: Pullock 10 4-16-0; Donald 19-4-60-1, Arlams 28-13-51-1, McMillon 14-6-16-0; Matheta /

### **Sporting Honours**

# A dream year for Edwards

The modest man from **BBC Television's Sports** Personality of the Year after his 18 Say nothing to boy about Pole's exploits at last year's world championships, said of his 19 Victim of initial confusion to trail

> "Outside of actual athletics this achievement, along with winning the BBC award, has has come true and I have got

More honour came Warwickshire's way when their former player Alan Smith, chief Cricket Board, was given a CBE for his services as an adminis-

Shaun Edwards, the Wigan,

tain awarded the OBE, said: don't know how deserving | an of it but obviously I'm very

The former Lions team-mate Dean Richards and Robert Jones are made MBEs for the services to Rugby Union. Jones said: "I am as delighted with the as any achievement on the Another Welshman similarly honoured, the Liverpool strike

Riyadh last November. British-Ian Rush, said: "I remembe Kenny Dalglish getting his and Government it must act or face a thinking it was great even to devastating toll in lost contracts. know someone who had received one." Karen Dixon, a member

Mas'ari was greeted with outrage by Britain's three-day event team thought she might have to wait until after the Olympic Games Atlanta, where she will compe on the veteran Get Smart, for "anything like an MBE". The 3

In recent months the question of The British deportation order | "people in British business" about what to do with him has become an | against Saudi Arabia's most promiobsession for senior mandarins as | nent dissident will be challenged in | British businessmen were repeat- the courts, human rights and politiedly warned of sanctions by Saudi | cal leaders pledged, after a govern-Arabia if action were not taken. ment minister admitted the decision King Fahd is understood to have | had been taken to protect relations |

relations with Saudi Arabia, a key Mohammed al-Mas'ari, vociferous critic of the Saudi regime,

export market and political ally in | threatened with deportation to Dominica

with the kingdom. But the Government appeared very difficult balance to strike. On ready to brazen out the controversy this occasion, we have concluded with its unqualified confirmation | that British interests do require his owned multinationals such as Vick- that the expulsion was primarily ers and British Aerospace told the | aimed at maintaining good relations |

The Home Office minister, Ann Widdecombe, denied that there had exposed the decision to legal chalbeen any "blackmailing pressure", human rights and Middle East cam- but said the Government had had edged that the Government had representations from Riyadh and used discretion in the deportation | Comment, page 12

Immigrants, said her comments lenge because she had acknowl-

removal." Mrs Widdecombe said.

Claude Moraes, director of the

Joint Council for the Welfare of

our relations with the Saudis".

the same and the s

UK bows to pressure over dissident

decision. The move had nothing to do with Mr Mas'ari not being "conducive to the public good", as required by the Immigration Act.

Lord Avebury, a Liberal Democ-

MeGuardian

rat peer and chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights
Group, said the expulsion was a
breach of Britain's obligations
under the UN Convention. He
added that "highly improper" criticism of Mr Mas'ari by Mr Rifkind had seriously prejudiced the asylum seeker's case.

George Galloway, the Scottish Labour MP who has championed Home Secretary, Michael Howard, Mas'ari was a "sordid act of obeisance to the arms dealers in Britain and the dictators in Riyadh",

Rosie Douglas, leader of the leftist Dominica Labour party, is visiting Britain by chance and joined the campaign against Mr Mas'ari's expulsion from Britain

Opposition to the move in Dominica has already been voiced by the former prime minister, Eugenia Charles, and by the island's main opposition leader, Brian Alleyne, of the rightwing Dominica Freedom

The Foreign Office continued to insist there had been no "quid pro quo" increase in aid to Dominica, though the Overseas Development Administration said that British aid to Dominica was now "on track" to increase to £2 million from £500,000 last year as a result of the clearance of debt arrears.

Mr Mas'ari, who was "complicating Mr Mas'ari was imprisoned and tortured in Saudi Arabia before he "If people come here and use our came to Britain in April 1994. His antihospitality in order to attack ex-American organisation campaigns tremely friendly governments with for an elected government and whom we have good diplomatic and against corruption and the presence very good trade relations, we have a of foreign troops in the country,

Saudi Arabia is Britain's 18th largest export market. More crucial arms-for-oil deal, signed by Margaret Thatcher in 1985, which involves the supply of British Aerospace Tornado aircraft and other defence equipment over 20 years.

Arms and the man, page 10

# Famine strikes flood-stricken North Korea

John Gittings

COOD rations have been cut dras-Lically for 22 million North Koreans as the world's most isolated regime struggles against flood damage and a catastrophic fall in

Rations for coal miners and others doing heavy work have been almost halved in the past year. Six million children are also on short the Saudi opposition, wrote to the rations and many show signs of stunted growth. The World Health saying his decision to deport Mr | Organisation says medical services throughout the country are "very

Cereals are supposed to provide three-quarters of the average calorie intake, with the rest coming from fish, meat, vegetables and oil. But United Nations officials say that because of "chronic shortages".

these are seldom available. Reports from UN aid officials. who have been given exceptional access to normally closed areas since last summer's floods, show that the North Korean crisis goes far deeper than was originally thought. The floods are seen as the last straw

after five years of declining food production. Poor climate and mountainous terrain, says a joint report by the World Food Programme (WFP) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), obliged North Korea to rely heavily on intensive use of chemicals and electric power to improve and irrigate the land. But the loss of aid from China and the former Soviet Union, and Pyongyang's low credit rating abroad, meant these inputs could not be maintained. Cereal production has de-

clined every year since 1990. UN officials who have travelled continued on page 3

Palestine mourns 'the Engineer'

Snow adds to **US misery** 

Blair outlines his

vision for Britain

Road protesters dig for victory

How tests are tearing Tahiti apart

Austria : A630 Netherlands G 4.75 Denmark DK16 Finland France FF 13 Saudi Arabia SR 8.50 Germany DM 4 Spain P 300 Greece. DR 400 L 3,000 Switzerland SF 3,30

Tributes pour in as France mourns Mitterrand | quarters, many echoed the view that Mitterrand's greatest

week for a period of solemn religious mourning for its avowedly agnostic former president, François Mitterrand, who died on Monday, aged 79, after a three-year battle against prostate cancer.

Tributes from world leaders Les Invalides.

The former Socialist president's funeral and burial, in a

in his heart, he had never left. Mitterrand, who was president for two terms - from 198: have died at his desk at 8,30am.

place in Jarnac, the small town

in south-west France where he

was born and of which he said.

To the end, he had enjoyed a

pay homage to his predecessor. until May last year — was said to

Benamou, a family friend and biographer, said Mitterrand had spent Christmas with his companion, Anne Pingeot, and their daughter, Mazarine, in the Egyptian resort of Aswan. He then cel-

Alex Duval Smith in Paris family grave, was due to take ebrated New Year with his wife, Danielle and sons at his home in Latche, south-west France. After paying his respects, President Jacques Chirac used his new year address to the media to

> "During his 14 years [in power] Mr Mitterrand wrote an important page in the history of our country. He guaranteed the functioning of our institutions, he guarded the democratic process with serenity," he said.

Leaders from around the world paid tribute to Mitterrand. At the Socialist party bead-

the contract of the second sec

ment to a united Europe.

Former café owner Yvette Ouge, aged 63, who had voted Socialist all her life, said: "He was an enormous pillar of both politics and intellectual life. He helped along the modernisation of France to an unbelievable extent while uniting Europe."

Not everyone praised him. A retired history teacher, aged 70, paid tribute to his leadership while feeling "allenated by his ideas". Another man called him a "rascal".

Obituary, page 6

Cryptic crossword by Shed lock, leaving no clue (9) 20 Insist on publicity (5) T "Get wind of a boisterous 21 I turn green before whirling (7) (1,7) (li) decade?

one's dreams (7) 25 National rave-up in disarray (8) 26 A blow adding nothing to battle

Draw conclusion about city of Largely shunning innovation; like 27 Unfortunate lapse, on one occasion, in War of the French Department (5,9)

1 It's rewarding for king bird (home-grown) to receive queen

Last week's solution KITBAG DOUBLE 23 Working man absorbing one of JUVENAL TIBERI O A D I C E E G U CODE STUFFEDOWL O E Z L R D V E

**Don Beet** 

THE world-record triplejumper Jonathan Edwards is as thrilled with his MBE. awarded in the New Year Honours List, as he was with his other achievements over a remarkable year.

Gateshead - and son of a Devon vicar - who was recently named award: "I'm thrilled. It's a great

been one of my dreams. Now it both of them."

Dermot Reeve is never lost for words and after being awarded an OBE the talented cricket captain and mimic said: "I'm flattered but Warwickshire's successes over the past couple of years are not just down to me."

executive of the Test and County

England and Great Britain cap-

year-old from County Durham said: "I'm thrilled but a lime RANCE was preparing this surprised." Nine years after his MBE the 43-year-old motorcycle cham pion Joey Dunlop receives an

OBE for breaking Mike Hailwood's record for Isle of Man TT wins. Another OBE to Kendra Slawinski, Rogland

former netball captain.

Ted Lowe, the quiet voice of snooker, broke out of whispers to say of his MBE: "I am de-

flowed in, and red roses were laid by ordinary citizens at Socialist party headquarters at

double private life. Georges-Marc

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MYSTERYMEN WEEP
POWERS X REA
ACQUIRETHENABIT

N U N M E Q U C V L E L D U P N A S M I T R U A T E A L V E R A Y R E S I D E

"Peace and goodwill but not to his clairvoyant powers. There is yet in Ireland", January 7) illustrates | certainly no evidence to back him all too well the kind of attitude up. Indeed, all the evidence is that which has allowed the situation in the people of the Republic and Na-Ireland to drag on for so long. After | tionalists in the North are united can muster a post-innerial sneer?

ment statistics will show him that I the present in the hope of winning Catholics are still heavily discrimi- over the so-called loyalists in time. nated against in Northern Ireland. A In doing so they show a committion on the ground will tell him that young men in Nationalist areas con- ernment in Britain, from Unionist tinue to be harassed by the security forces, and that the British army is paper columnists. using the ceasefire (and it has been | Graham Day, called a ceasefire --- another fact) to strengthen its fortifications in border areas. So much for a reliance on "historical" grievances.

The historical grievances Young refers to are, no doubt, such things as the British government's shoot- negotiation. Of course the British to-kill policy, the running of death squads both within and without the RUC and army, and the provision of activities in Northern Ireland, inweapoury to loyalist terrorists - all | cluding the handover of all weapons of which has taken place in the past | and armaments. But John Major | 10 years. Not what most people un- wants this before any negotiations derstand by "history", though the | commence. What would be want usage is technically correct. Going from negotiations then? A promise back a bit further we find discrimination even more widespread than it is now: violent pogroms and a police state which bore comparison with the South Africa of the time.

The fact that Nationalists seem willing to put such things in the past for the sake of peace is, I think, a ent stage from the others. The magnificent example to a British nounced its ceasefire.

Young says that the goal of a united | in 1922. Which incidentally also hap-Ireland no longer commands sup- pened as a result of one of those

valid claim to a tradition of compromise. Whether a lasting peace can be created in Bosnia will depend on whether the majority communities can set up systems of government in which the minorities can trust The Israeli withdrawal from the advanced stage than the Irish situation. Such action by Britain in A cursory glance at the employ- however, willing to compromise for

1S NOT the present IRA ceasefire a

/ compromise? For further compro-

mise to be possible there has to be

government's objective is a total and

permanent cessation of paramilitary

tory into being as a political enclave

Weekly

munities again?

The Guardian

positive response from Sinn Fein and the IRA. However, the Rabin astion which could be expected from the Protestant paramilitaries if such sadly lacking from the current govleaders, and from certain news-

> Is the Israeli government going to hang on to a piece of land on the West Bank to placate the settlers and avoid further assassinations? E P Callanan,

**YOUR LEADER** (January 7) rightly castigates the Govern ment for squandering one of its few remaining assets, the BBC World Service. It is high time that it was separated from the Foreign Office. Some years ago, the World Service had to suspend its service in Spanish directed at Spain, a country with many Anglophiles. The cost represented one per cent of the FCO's expenditure in Spain - the sort of figure achievable by turning off the

overseas aid. Britain's proportion is already well below that of other ess Chalker claims that it goes to deserving causes and is better "targeted". Now deserving causes will have to go without and the target

affairs. Britain punches above it WR Haines,

**\/OUR LEADER** about the World Y Service was both misleading and repeated certain errors which have appeared in the press before.

Cuts to the Foreign Office budget | incrimination. Had this testimony | Mary Evans Bapst, are much bigger both absolutely been given in the presence of the Versoix, Switzerland and proportionately than those to jury, it would have been morally justhe BBC World Service:

to reduce the pressure on the World | shouted, "we find the defendant not Service, which we value highly, but | guiltyl" even before the case was which cannot be exempt from some | submitted to them for determination.

million as you state) of the FCO's budget is spent on entertainment. This is shared among 183 countries with which we have diplomatic or consular relations. Jeremy Hanley MP,

much vaunted "compromises" of Mr | Double
Young's, and that gives the Irish a

I WAS MOVED by the Letter from Namibia by Margaret Bradley (December 31), which brought up two the area; the problem of landmines is also devastating for local communities, indeed for whole countries.

In 60 countries around the world. from Afghanistan to Mozambique. from Cambodia to Yugoslavia, and almost every place in between where there has been a recent conflict, 110 million landmines are waiting to kill or maim. Nato forces arriving in Bosnia are already becoming victims of landmines. Most of them do their work long after the military has left, and 90 per cent of victims are civilians, 30 per cent of them women and children. Each year an estimated 26,000 fall victim to these insidious weapons, which continue to be laid at a rate of 2 million to 5 million a year. Landmines are cheap to buy —

like pace of removal. Many landmines are laid in prime agricultural areas, rendering the land useless, or terribly dangerous. Women and children collecting water and firewood, or picking ur andmines designed to look like toys, are especially vulnerable.

World leaders, including Pope John Paul II. Bishon Desmond Tutu. the Dalai Lama and UN Secretary landmines. It is sad that nations. including China, Russia and the United States, did not agree to even a series of modest restrictions on Another cut in the budget is for the use of landmines at the October 1994 Vienna meeting to review the 1980 UN Protocol on the use of antipersonnel landmines. We can only hope that when the 44 nations reconvene in Geneva in January they make better progress.

> Diana Quick. Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, New York, USA

Setting O J to rights

A AARTIN WALKER'S usual high IVI quality perceptions and analyses failed him (December 31) on the verdict in the O J Simpson case.

The jury did not "cast its verdict officer, when asked (in the absence of the jury) if he had tampered with any of the evidence, refused to answer and invoked the Fifth Amendment protection against self- | me be chaste -- but not yet." tified, although procedurally prohib-We went to considerable lengths | ited, if the members of the jury had

In the US and the UK, the jury's Less than £13 million (not £130 | verdict is properly their collective evaluation of the quality of the presentation made in the courtroom. Under the rules of the game, "an Kingdom); £52 (Europe inc. Ere); £56 USA unimpressive prosecution" presenting "perjured racism of a white detective" more than justified the verdict. Elliot Taikeff Quito, Ecuador

**Briefly** 

/// British government did not se cept the existence of Dachau, Belsen Auschwitz and the other camps until the end of the war when the evidence was inescapable. Had the current proposals for asylum seekers been in effect then, would we have been as sured that Mr Hitler had been denue cratically elected and that the German Jews were in no danger?

IKE MANY, I too am dismayed L by British government suggessome countries. It is utterly foolish ual merits, especially as the information available may well have been critically distorted: a white list could be a whitewash.

presently live, was recently blacklisted by Anmesty International, but the situation here is in fact much worse than anything they described, with the displacement and large-scale murder of indigenous from \$3 to \$30 — but cost from \$300 | populations by the state — with the to \$1,000 to remove, hence the snail- | complicity of the US administration | being a regular feature of life. Timothy Dowling. Medellin, Colombia

> DEFORE going overboard in Derediting Edward Jenner with solving the smallpox problem (Colin Luckhurst, December 3), remember that Jenner got the idea from Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. She observed the practice of vaccination in Turkey in the 18th century, where it was already an old one having been practised in the Arab world since at least 600 AD. and in Africa long before European

Lepisodes in the Windsor Follies may I direct to Their Royal High the estranged wife of George IV?

> Or, if that effort be too great, To go away at any rate.

F Ivor Gould, Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Lid., 119 Farringdon Road, London, United Kingdom. All rights reserved. and Canada; £60 Rest of World Letters to the Editor and other editorial e-mell; weekly@guardian.co.uk.

# 'Engineer' killed by phone bomb

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

HE most hated man in Israel Gaza Strip — executed by a in the past 15 months. tiny bomb hidden in a mobile phone, Yahva Ayyash, known as the Enorganised the killing of more than | to many Israelis, and a cult hero to 70 Israelis in a 19-month spate of suicide bombings. He was almost certainly murdered by Israeli intelligence agents who have been hunting him for more than three years.

According to Israel Radio, Ayyash, aged 32, died in an explosion in the Jabiliya refugee camp, in the north of the territory controlled by the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Ayyash, himself a master bombmaker, was killed by a 20-gram phone.

Hamas, the minority Islamist of retribution. "The Hamas brigades | intelligence. will reach the hand which was be- "Perhaps he thought they put in hind this crime and will deal with it as it should be dealt with," it said.

Yasser Arafat, the PLO leader, was said to have visited the Gaza home of Mahmoud al-Zahhar, the Hamas spokesman, to express his condolences.

Ayyash was at the top of Israel's wanted list. He has been linked with tween April 1994 and November 1995, which killed 75 people, mostly

assassination missions, but Israeli | Latif Ayyash. politicians and security sources did



Yahya Ayyash: 'the Engineer'

sure at the news. The secret service, Shin Bet, and its overseas counterpart, Mossad, have mur was killed last week in the dered at least four Islamist leaders

Ayyash has been hunted since 1992. Since he came to public attengineer, is said to have planned and | tion, he has been the devil incarnate | The hunt for his assassin is

focused on an alleged Palestinian traitor, Kamal Hamad, a businessman implicated by his own family. Mr Hamad, widely rumoured to have fled to New York, is the uncle

of Ayyash's friend Ossama Hamad. A friend of Ayyash since their days at the West Bank's university, Ossama said he got the cellular telephone which killed Ayyash from his explosive charge packed into a cell- uncle Kamal. He said his uncle may not have known about the explosives hidden in it, but suggested group to which he belonged, warned | that he had co-operated with Israeli

some listening devices," he said.

But Kamal Hamad is not the only suspect in what appears to have been a convoluted Israeli plan. An Israeli plane flew over Ayyash's hideout in the Gaza Strip at the time of the explosion. On the last day of his life, Ayyash

was staying in the home of Os 11 suicide-bombing missions be- sama's parents in Beit Lahia village. Hero's welcome . . . A Palestinian boy climbs a fence to cheer the Osama, a Hamas activist aged 27 said the telephone rang at about Israelis. Thirteen bombers also died. 9am and he woke Ayyash to give Israel never acknowledges its him the call from his father, Abdel-

"I walked away to let him speak not attempt to conceal their plea- privately. Suddenly, I heard the explosion and looked back and saw smoke," he said on his release after two days of questioning by Palestinian police.

Mr Arafat said the assassination was a violation of the Israeli-PLO peace deal. Israel closed its borders with both the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. sides that a deal can be reached.

In the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, shops and businesses closed and the streets were eerily quiet. The | of the negotiations, is pushing overwhelming response to a strike call by Hamas reflected the Palestinians' outrage at the assassination. The head of Israel's Shin Bet secret service, criticised for the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin has resigned. The man, identified only by | their return as the price of his first initial, "kaf", is being investigated by the assassination inquiry.

THE United States is ready to

station troops to monitor

neace on the Golan Heights if

both Israel and Syria request

William Perry, confirmed on

Monday, writes Derek Brown.

Syria resume this month. After

years of stalemate, there is now

and the US, as host and sponsor

hard for yet another Middle Eas

breakthrough in President

Clinton's re-election year.

The key issue is the Golan

in 1967. Syria is demanding

peace: Israel, while tacitly ac-

Heights, which Israel captured

unprecedented optimism on both

Peace talks between Israel and

them, the US defence secretary,

children in kindergartens. To meet the present crisis, this international donors to support a the North if it changed its hostile tosystem was simplified to three lev- food aid programme to a total of 1,2 | wards South Korea and sought deels!— children under 16, adults be- million tons. It warns that the lean- tente. tween 16 and 64, and those aged 65 est period will come in August- in Tiles a crime and a betrayal of the Tuesday: "My responsibility, and Pyongyang has mobilised the popu- and over - and lower rations were | September.

leaders wave huge red flags. over half the original ration. But the collective system has pro- country's food reserve of 4 million

heavily on subsidised food rations . The WFP is struggling to find and suffers immediately when the donors to enable it to continue with

vided 900 grams of cereal daily for | able to supply only a quarter of the | yang poured resources into its huge workers in heavy industry and the food needed as few donors have military machine. lowest grade provided 100 grams for come forward.

Pyongyang's secretive politics

have discouraged foreign donors · A heavy-industry worker will now from giving aid. The propaganda tered irrigation dykes, while cheer- receive only 479 grams daily - just | machine continues to praise the "creative genius of the Great Leader Grain imports from China ceased Kim Jong-il", although the leader, at the beginning of 1995 because of the son and successor to the late not a passing phenomenon. Pyongyang's inability to pay. The Kim Il-sung, remains mysteriously out of sight

withdraw, is demanding cast-

tions the US has signalled its

willingness in principle to con-

tribute troops to a Golan peace-

Mr Perry this week went fur-

ther. "If the peace agreement be-

reached, and we hope and be-

lieve that will happen, and if that

force in the Golan Heights, and if

both Israel and Syria request the

US to participate in that, we are

prepared to do that," he said

after meeting the Israeli prime

East Mr Perry announced two

arms deals including \$190 mil-

lion for Israel's Arrow missile.

During his visit to the Middle.

minister, Shimon Peres.

tween Israel and Syria is

calls for a peace monitoring

In previous rounds of negotia-

iron security guarantees.

keeping force.

However, in a new year address. The FAO-WFP report appeals to | Kim said Seoul would offer help to

hope to receive aid from the international community while pouring all its national resources into maintaining its military power." Kim said. He said Pyongyang's food short-

age and economic problems were

ficient communist economic system But most observers are sceptical and excessive military spending neof any military move by Pyongyang. | cessitated by its maintaining the Reuter adds from Seoul: South | fifth largest military of more than its relief plan. The first phase, which | Korean President Kim Young-sam | one million soldiers in a nation of Until last year, rationing was began late in November, should said on Tuesday that appeals by only 20 million people," Kim said.

# Murayama quits in favour of 'new man'

**Kevin Rafferty in Tokyo** 

APAN'S trade and industry min-Uister, Ryutaro Hashimoto, is to succeed Tomiichi Murayama as prime minister, after all three partners in the coalition government gave him their backing. The changeover marks the return to power of the Liberal Democratic Party which has dominated postwar Japanese politics.

With the three coalition parties holding more than 290 of the 511 seats in the lower house, Mr Hashimoto, the conservative LDP's leader, is certain to win a formal vote in parliament confirming his succession.

But leaders of the main opposition Shinshinto (New Frontier Party) were angry at what they saw as an undemocratic transfer of power. They threatened a mass resignation of all their 170 MPs to try to force a general elections. Media commentators also expressed unease at the fourth change of prime minister since elections in 1993.

Mr Murayama announced to a stunned nation that he planned to resign because the new year was time for a new man with new ideas to take over. "In spite of a series of unexpected problems, I did my best. In some ways, I've been working above the limits of my capacity," the 71-year-old leader admitted

In some ways the surprise was that Mr Murayama, the first Socialist prime minister for almost 50 years, lasted so long. He took over when the Socialists left the fragile "rainbow coalition" after the summer 1993 poll and ended up embrac-

ing their old enemies, the LDP. Mr Murayama, a man popularly known as "Grandpop" and famous only for his bushy eyebrows, had had no experience of ministerial office when he was thrust into the hot

seat in summer 1994. Tabloid newspapers said Mr Murayama lasted so long because it suited the LDP to have a pliable front man, especially as Japan was experiencing four years of recession and the effects of earthquakes and

terrorist attacks. Mr Hashimoto whose character is in marked contrast to Mr Murayama's, was struggling to put together a cabinet on Tuesday as critics blasted his coalition's policy platform as a visionless product of timid political compromise.

But Mr Hashimoto, aged 58, who made headlines last year for his tough stance in a bitter car trade row with the United States, will have little chance to celebrate his anointment. . Seemingly aware of the stiff headwind he faces, Mr. Hashimoto sternly told LDP members on Korean people for North Korea to that of the LDR; has become far greater now."

Mr Hashimoto spent much of the day in an apparently fruitless search for a politician willing to take the finance ministry portfolio — a hot seat at a time of atrong public criticism of government plans to use "Their cause is rooted in the inef- \$6.78 billion worth of taxpayers" money to wind up financially troubled mortgage firms.

The bad loan problem has come to symbolise the wors of Japan's financial system and is the focus of opposition strategy to force Mr Hashimoto to call early general l elections.

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explosion

pressing issues related to mines. The closing of mines that produce pre-

sassination is a sample of the reaca move were to be contemplated. Also, the Israeli withdrawal may stop short of a complete handover as Britain failed to relinquish all of the territory held in Ireland in 1922.

Ilford, Essex

from the IRA not to raise any more money for the purchase of arms in return for his promise to put troops back in to protect the Catholic com-Each of the conflicts referred to by Hugo Young is at a quite differ-Bosnia settlement, if implemented. will now enter the "partition" stage. A situation much like that which brought the Northern Ireland terri-

lights in the embassy. western countries, although Baron-

will be smaller. The Tories boast that "in foreign weight". Is this how they do it?

London

The facts are as follows: ☐ The outcome of the current spending round was a reduction of | for a different trial altogether" - it 7 per cent in cash terms over each | delivered its judgment for the very of the next three years for the case in which a "racist white police" Foreign Office diplomatic wing. The World Service and other bodies such as the British Council have to

be funded out of this reduced provi-

Minister of State, Foreign and

Commonwealth Office, London

# A Y RECOLLECTION is that the

Name and address subblied

Colombia, for instance, where

Pela A Jones,

IN THE light of the most recen nesses The Prince and Princess of Wales a suggestion which was first directed 175 years ago by George Caming to Caroline of Brunswick

Most gracious queen, we three To go away and sin no more.

THE manoeuvrings of Presiden Chirac over the bomb (continu ing to test while declaring future adremind me of Augustine: "Lord, let

The Guardian

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# N Korea hit by famine

Continued from page 1 widely in the countryside note that lation to tackle the damage. Peas- fixed, It is these lower targets which ants are joined by workers to clear have now been further reduced. clogged canals and rebuild shat-

phy urge them on. duced a society which depends very tons of grain has been exhausted.

Rhythmic chants in praise of Kim II-

sung's Juche (self-reliance) philoso-

based on a complex nine-level sys- have fed 500,000 flood victims for North Korea for food aid were a tem, in which the highest grade pro- three months. But the: WFP was | "crime and a betrayal" while Pyong- Comment, page 12 **David Hearst** 

HE victors of last month's general election, Gennady of the Russian Federation, met in secret this week to discuss their tactics for the second stage of their assault on power: unseating Boris | nist leadership will not seek the Yeltsin from the throne.

After taking 157 seats, more than a third of the new Duma, party leaders are sanguine about their ber of Mr Yeltsin's kitchen cabinet. chances of winning the presidential | the security council, and although mittee member said: "We need a strategy, not to gain as much as we can but lose as little as we can."

Acutely aware of the party's ideological divisions, the personal ambi- would be held responsible by the tions which will prevent the rank-and-file for not confronting the opposition from fielding a single its voters. Mr Zyuganov is likely to for the presidential administration. put his pragmatism to full use.

One of the first signs of this will be a marked restraint in the carve- mocratic party, has been mentioned up of important Duma posts. Mr | as a compromise candidate.

Militias help

Nato clear

landmines

HE first casualties in the Nato-

led peace implementation force

in Bosnia are, — as military plan-

Two British soldiers were injured

at Sanski Most last month, and an

American was seriously injured when his vehicle detonated a mine

near the River Sava. Last week two

British soldiers were injured in the

mines have been laid throughout

former Yugoslavia since the war

began, and as the troops spread out

across unfamiliar terrain blanketed

in snow American commanders be-

The problem is far too big for

lieve this is the most serious threat

even the 60,000-strong implementa-

tion force (I-For) to tackle alone. I

is relying on local militias who scat-

tered the mines to do their own

The Dayton accord requires the

largely fulfilled — and to clear a

4km-wide separation zone along the

new internal boundaries within a

militias' response has been positive.

records and a map," he said.

'The BiH [the mainly Muslim

Between 4 million and 6 million

ners feared — the victims of land-

mines, writes David Fairhall.

Sarajevo suburbs.

clearance.

Zyuganov is understood to support a non-communist as its politically powerful Speaker.

Recalling the example of the former Speaker, an ex-communist, Ivan Rybkin, who got so close to Mr Yeltsin that his party falled miserably in the elections, the Commu-Speaker is also a permanent memthe voting is secret, Mr Rybkin has Mr Zyuganov could only win if he to share at least collective responsibility for the botched assault on

For another, a "Red Speaker" Vladimir Gusev, a negotiator from Vladimir Zhirinovsky's Liberal De-

men at the head of some key committees, as in the last parliament, but their main task will be to create a shadow cabinet, not to block gov-

ernment legislation. many. First, the Communist victory, which exceeded their own expecta- the coal, minerals and timber indus tions, created a huge wave of expecown for the post. For one thing, the tation which could easily turn sour, particularly as parliament is consti-The second is the calculation that

> represented the interests of a recognising that redistributing busibroader political spectrum than his party. Valentine Chikin, chief editor committee member, said: "The ex-Mitterrand. Once he became presi-French and even distanced himself from his Socialist government. This is a normal process."

Mr Zyuganov's pragmatism however, not risk-free. It has al- Washington Post, page 16

The Communists will put their | ready brought him at times bitter opposition from far-left groups within the communist movement. Even in Mr Zyuganov's own party

there is a wide divergence of opinion on some of the main policies. The reasons for this approach are | Party policy is to re-nationalise raw materials - oil and gas, as well as tries. Mr Chikin said that while in dustries which were monopolies had to come under state control, the private sector would also be present.

However, the Zyuganov leadership opposes "revolutionary change" nesses and property could well result in "civil war".

of Sovietskaya Rossia, and a central Russia's foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, has resigned to take up his seat in parliament. His announcement, which came as no surprise, candidate, and the expectations of cles, while providing an easy target dent, he became president of all the was accepted by Mr Yeltsin, who said he was thinking "more and more" about running for a second

# Cypriot police murdered in 1992 by a paid CIA "asset", was firebombed in 'involved

Chris Drake in Nicosia

in murders'

YPRIOT police officers have been accused by the island's president of murder, bombings, arson attacks, and being deeply involved in underworld battles for the control of drugs, prostitution and gambling.

In an astonishing public announce ment which shocked the country, Glafkos Clerides claimed that some of the killings were carried out with the full knowledge of senior officers and that police involvement in underworld corruption reached the force's highest levels.

The island's boast of a low crime rate is a standard part of its advertising to attract tourists. Close to a nullion Britons take their holidays here each year. It is also home to two British bases with 10,000 servicemen and their families, and the regional headquarters of hundreds of

international companies. This image of a peaceful holiday militias to provide information on have not been so quick to respond, their minefields — a commitment by all accounts, but we believe they atla for human rights abuses and to recently by a series of ganglanddo now understand the urgency and demand it hand over accused war style attacks. Nightclub owners criminals to a UN tribunal. It said have been killed, cars blown up and Serbs in Croatia's Krajina region | flats, clubs and massage parlours have been the victims of murder set on fire. Very few of the crimes, According to Major Martin An- by the Croatian HVO militial the and other atrochties since Zagreb's including eight murders, have been solved despite police assurances Croatia was also told it was block- that everything was being done to

Now President Clerides claims Bosnian army) have been bending | records, he says, mine clearance is | quately bringing to justice those | that the police are unable to make

is expected to resign too.

EAVY snows in central Mexico killed millions of the endangered orange and black Monarch butterflies.

tal and maternity home in neigh bouring Dagestan on Tuesday and threatened to shoot them if Russia does not withdraw its troops from Chechenia. NE of the worst anowatorms

A CHECHEN rebel band

called "Lone Wolf" seized at

least 1,000 hostages at a hospi-

The Week

in more than 70 years blanketed the eastern United States on Sunday, depositing 2f of snow in places and stranding thousands of travellers.

LVARO ARZU of the National Advancement Party, declared victory in Guatemala's second-round presidential elec tions over Alfonso Portillo of the Guatemalan Republic Front. Le Monde, page 20

CAR belonging to the lawyer of Jennifer Harbury, the widow of a Guatemalan guerrille leader allegedly tortured and

EFTIST guerrillas in Turkey have shot dead two leading industrialists who worked for the Toyota car company. A secretary was also killed in the attack.

RANCE will complete its nuclear weapons tests in the South Pacific by the end of next month. President Chirac said. Paradise lost, page 13

■ EDUM MITEE, a leader of the Nigerian minority rights group of the hanged Ogoni activist Ken Saro-Wiwa, was arrested at a rally in the southeastern Rivers state.

UROPEAN scientists have managed to create fleeting atoms of anti-matter for the first time. They said nine "antihydrogen" atoms were created last September, but each lasted just 40 billionths of a second before being annihilated by ordinary matter.

EXICAN authorities rejected allegations that the man in jail for killing presidential candi date Luis Donaldo Colosio is a double for the real killer.

A N ANGRY crowd tried to they were piloting crashed into a crowded market in the centre of Kinshasa, the capital of Zaire, killing more than 250 people.

ADONNA won a legal vic-tory when a drifter who had threatened to kill her was found guilty of stalking and terrorising her and assaulting her body: guard. He faces 10 years in fall.

**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** January 14 1996

# No business like snow business

House may now face a bipartisan

### The USA this week

Martin Walker

have so stubbornly refused to acknowledge the workings of Providence's wry sense of Medicare-cutting budget over a humour in the monstrous blizzard that struck the eastern states, closing down the federal capital of Washington on the very weekend grumpily agreed to re-open the government after three weeks of shutdown. The deal was reached late on Friday night. On Saturday morning, museums and parks and federal offices began hesitantly to stir once more, and by Sunday, three feet of snow on Pennsylvania Avenue frustrated the belated compromises of White House and Congress. On Monday, the government was closed even more decisively than it had been the previous week.

The great storm closed airports. rail and metro in the capital, and stranded hundreds of thousands of travellers up and down the Atlantic coast from Boston south to the Carolinas. The news of the weather mercifully pushed the Washington wrangles off the front pages, and also robbed Hillary Clinton of much of the publicity she wanted for her book launch this week. It Takes A Village; And Other Lessons Children Teach Us is the title, which just about sums up this glutinous effort to soften the First Lady's image.

A pity her book-launch interviews were overshadowed by the belated discovery of the records of her legal work for the Whitewater company, which showed that she had billed the firm \$6,000, at \$120 an hour, for legal services. Fifty hours of work suggests rather more involvement than Mrs Clinton had hitherto ac-

Always a little odd in presidential election years, Washington has now become a thoroughly dysfunctional city as President Clinton and the Republican Congress take every political dispute to the brink of bureaucratic disaster. Some 280,000 federal government employees have been sent home without pay for 21 days, and another 480,000 have been working without pay in a great charade. It is broadly accepted that they will be paid, whether they worked or not, once White House and Congress finally agree a compromise over the budget.

But that final compromise may still be far distant. The agreement that was reached just before the blizzard blew in was a very partial and highly complex deal that had the US media scrambling like referees at a boxing match to work out who "won".

Throughout the week, the Republican anguish had been palpable, as they weighed their budget-cutting principles against their dwindling popularity. The party leaders, Senator Robert Dole and Speaker Newt Gingrich, came up with a joint approach, but the 73 hard-line freshmen Republicans in the House refused to go along until Clinton surrendered by delivering their non-negotiable demand: a balanced budget plan over seven years as

billion in cuts. The figures are far money to keep funding a range of less important than the fact that agencies. In the third measures,

presidential veto, which would be disastrous for Clinton.

these conservative Democrats have finally signed up with the Republicans on the core issue of Medicare. This means that the White Clinton delivers a seven-year budget which the Congressional Budget | ment they will deign to keep open. majority big enough to pass a Office declares to be in balance.

economics of Alice in Wonderland.

So what was settled at the weekend was little enough. However, under funds for particular programmes and individual federal agencies, the Republicans have made it clear that they are prepared to pick and choose which bits of the govern-

They are quite blunt about the This, it must be stressed, is the | ideology of this. For example, the FBI, the Drugs Enforcement What the Republicans really want is | Agency, prisons and prosecution So, while each party nervously the symbolic act of surrender by services are all now funded. Conlooked back at its own ranks for Clinton. They will not of course get gressman John Boehner, chairman signs of desertions, a complex tri- it, since Clinton is already drafting of the House Republican Conferpartite deal was agreed. In phase the State of the Union address ence, called these "essential parts of one, Congress voted money to re- which will pay tribute to the Repub- the Justice Department that are open the closed public services of licans for their modest part in carry- very important to us". But two other parks, museums, passport offices | ing out his 1992 campaign promises | functions of the Justice Department, and the like. In phase two, it voted to balance the budget, deliver a mid- the civil rights and the anti-trust di- Washington Post, page 16

die-class tax cut and "end welfare as | visions, are deliberately not funded. This is the real threat, Unless Clinton comes up with the balanced budget plan the Republicans can the phase two system of voting | swallow, they will keep open only those bits of government that suit

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 5

The casual way that this is being done is best illustrated by the case of the State Department Diplomatic Society, which found itself funded this week, even though it does not exist. What the Republicans had wanted to fund, while slashing away at budgets that help bring students to the US on scholarships, was State Department Diplomatic Security, which helps guard US diplomats against terrorists. Such are the ways of the dysfunctional city, sunk beneath the unfamiliar snows.



# Offshore Investment bears fruit with Abbey National.



# UN envoy says civil war raging in Burundi

produced 800 sets of minefield is a painstaking manual search with ing over indicted war criminals.

"The VRS [Bosnian Serb militia] | In New York on Monday, the UN | Washington Post, page 15

Bosnia when his Jeep hit a mine

"In the British sector [which in-

cludes a lot of territory controlled

are ready to co-operate.

were expecting."

VI things" are rife in Burundi and central African country. even its own political leaders recognise a civil war is raging, a senior | tremely serious. The military does United Nations envoy said on Tues- not have full control over all of the day, writes Mark Dodd.

drews, who works with mines for the | multinational division have received

I-For headquarters at Kiseljak, the | 80 per cent of the information they

Speaking in Nairobi after a two- [] lein." she told reporters. .... day visit to Burundi, UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Sadako all say this is like a civil war situcould resolve security problems in detainees to inhuman torture aimed

extremists, so this is the real prob-

Ogata, said ethnic extremists were ation," said Mrs Ogata, who dis Burundi. - Reuter

ASSACRES and other "terrible | the main reason for insecurity in the | cussed the ethnic crisis with the "The security situation is ex- ister and other officials on Monday.

Martin John Begosh, the first US member of I-For to be wounded in

Without accurate maps and return to their homes, was not ade-

"It is a deep political crisis that the country is facing with a lot of mili-

Hutu president and Tutsi prime min-

successful offensive last August.

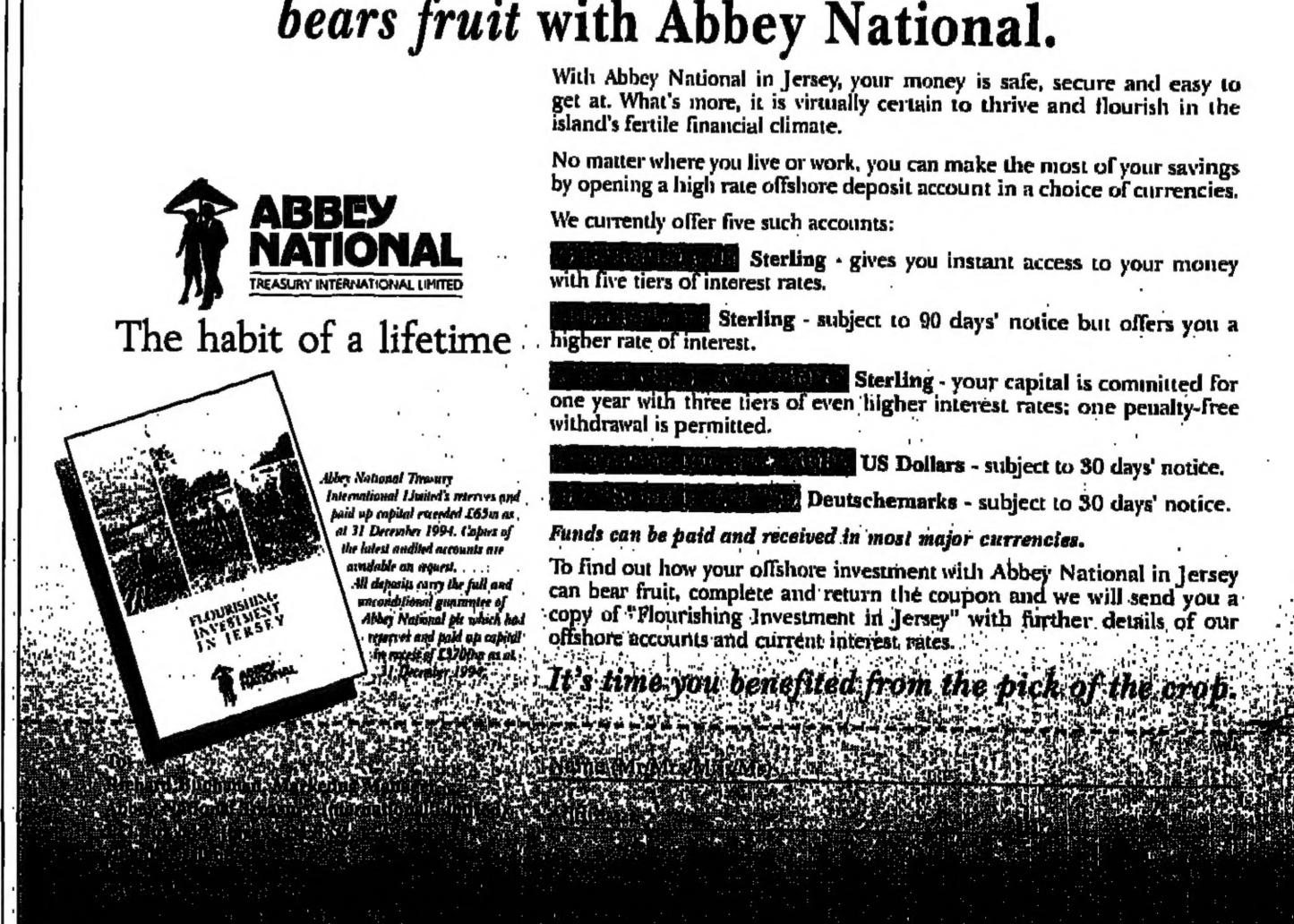
PHOTOGRAPH; LYNNE SLADKY

But Mrs Ogata said only the pendent board of inquiry, described "The government, the president, government and political leaders "an organised system of subjecting

ing those refugees who wanted to track down those responsible over backwards to help. They have virtually impossible. The alternative guilty of abuses and was not hand- arrests because they themselves members after a cargo plane letter accepting the resignation of the assistant police chief, Costas Papacostas, which revealed that he was considering sacking him. The police chief Andreas Potamaris, is on leave abroad due to ill-health but

> The force's reputation was already badly tarnished by revelations in November that officers in the seaside resort of Limassol had tortured suspects. A report by an indeat securing confessions".

scored by congressional figures. The Senate Republicans are divided among themselves, but a compromise on Friday last week saw 47 Democratic Congressmen and the Republicans in both House and Senate agree a new target of \$168



# A maker of modern France

François Mitterrand

HE DEATH of François Mitterrand on Monday at the age of 79 removes from the European political stage one of its most tenacious leading men.

He will be remembered as the leftwing president of France who in his two terms of office between 1981 and 1995 taught socialism the realities of power in a post-Marxist age and who sought to convince his fellow citizens that European integration was the means to fulfill France's self-proclaimed mission to lead Europe.

His election to the presidency in 1981 was the culmination of a political odyssey that had started 35 years earlier and had survived setbacks which would have destroyed a less single-minded ambition. His career combined moments of great national popularity with long periods in which he was distrusted as a scheming and unprincipled adventurer.

Towards the end of his second term, he became the most unpopular president in the history of the Fifth Republic. The publicising o his links in the second world war with the collaborationist Vichy regime, and even more of his friendship with René Bouquet, who supervised the rounding up of the Paris Jews in 1942, caused utter dismay to those who had regarded him as the champion of republican values. Posterity is likely to be kinder and to place him, alongaide de Gaulle, as a key figure in the creation of modern France.

The comparison with de Gaulle never failed to infuriate the genthe Fifth Republic. Yet there are ers it demonstrated his intelligence and his support for self-government similarities between the two men. They shared an Olympian manner; | work. a deep interest in literature and history; the capacity to behave with war with a wife. Danielle, daughter cold ruthlessness towards oppo- of a resistance leader, to whom he | the Fourth Republic is a dubious ac- | the US and Britain. It was small nents; and a refusal to acknowledge | stayed married despite an almost | colade given the regime's collapse | wonder that Mitterrand became a the right of the United States to de- legendary string of affairs. Cru- In the face of decay at home and intermine the foreign policy of its al- | cially, the war defined Mitterrand as | surrection in Algeria. lies. Above all, Mitterrand taught | an opponent of the two principal | the French left to accept the institu- forces of the New France — litical oblivion was paradoxically his tional order created by de Gaulle | Gaullism and communism. At a | absolute refusal to compromise with

· Little in Mitterrand's background | with de Gaulle in Algiers, he refused suggested the future course of his to acknowledge the latter's author- Gaulle's return to power and in a career. Born in 1916 in a small vil- ity over the resistance movement, famous pamphlet, Le Coup d'État lage near Cognac in the Charente | an act of insubordination that the | Permanent, denounced the authordepartment, he was one of eight | general never forgave. At the same | itarian nature of the new Fifth Repchildren and grew up in a family time, however, he resisted the bublic. In the short term, this oppoagainst this background either as a emerged as France's largest politi- elections and was refused entry to a look his resolute support for the inschoolboy or as a law student in cal movement. This double refusal new leftwing grouping, the Parti troduction of Cruise missiles to Paris. To the extent that he was in- of allegiance gives a unity to the | Socialiste Autonome. He was then volved in the frenetic politics of the | whole of his subsequent career.

making of Mitterrand. He fought, | al department of the Nièvre, he reand was decorated for bravery, in tained his seat for all but three of the through the Fifth Republic began the disastrous 1940 campaign that next 35 years and acquired the local with the 1965 presidential contest. orthodoxies of sound money and spect and his presidency did not sufled to the fall of France. Like de power base - mayor of Château- His very isolation made him an ex-Gaulle 25 years earlier, he was Chinon, member of the departmen- pendable stalking horse for the big taken prisoner by the Germans. tal council — that all French politi- battalions of the communist and so- made easier by the fact that his so-Unlike de Gaulle he managed to | cians regard as a vital political | cialist parties in a contest which escape from captivity and returned | resource. In 1947, he became the | everyone expected de Gaulle to win. to France. What happened next youngest government minister this The 45 per cent of the vote that Mit- ployment and his popularity plumprovides the background to the first | century and he subsequently served | terrand won in round two suggested great controversy of his career. In a total of 11 cabinets during the that there might be political life Mitterrand became an important Fourth Republic. No one doubted after de Gaulle. resistance leader and took part in his intelligence or his capacity for the liberation of Paris in 1944. But hard work; what was queried was political operation at which he French economy recovered its com- politician, born October 29, 1916; he also accepted employment from the integrity of his convictions. excelled by getting himself elected a petitiveness. Even the more than died January 7, 1996



the regime's medal of honour. To

memorably unsuccessful meeting the new political order established smothering embrace of the French | sition cost him dear. He lost his

independent-minded, professional setting up a fake assassination a The second world war was the | Assembly in 1946 for the largely rur- | years.

nationalists once the war of indepen-

by de Gaulle in 1958, He opposed de new leftwing grouping, the Parti | troduction of Cruise missiles to nearly destroyed in 1959 by a scandal in which he was falsely accused

first secretary of the Socialist party, | honourable defeat of the Socialist a position he held for 10 years. party in the 1986 legislative elec-Under him the party became the tions was turned to his advantage. vehicle for a generation of political
talents and ambitions, who fell the Gaullist leader Jacques Chirac under the spell of a leader who prime minister, he inaugurated the could combine inspirational warmth period of collabitation. This enabled with chilling remoteness.

In 1972 he negotiated an alliance profile as the venerable, but vigilant with the still powerful Communist | guardian of constitutional propri-Party that enabled him to mount an impressive second bid for the presi- the aggressive neo-liberalism of dency after Pompidou's death. In a Chirac. Potential embarrassments like the 1985 Rainbow Warrior scan-1 per cent of the vote to the non-Gaullist conservative, Valery Gis-blew up a Greenpeace boat in Auckcard d'Estaing.

These high points were, however, matched by lows that often seemed to leave him politically dead. He came badly out of May 1968, being sent Jacques Delors to Brussels; rejected by radicals as just another | worked to heal the running sore of machine politician and denounced Britain's Community contribution; by constitutionalists for what looked and put his authority behind the Sinlike an illegal bid for power. Ten gle European Act. He strolled to vicyears later, his entire strategy for tory in the 1988 presidential gaining power - the alliance with election, standing on his record and the communists - collapsed when personality and articulating a collecthe latter took fright at the advance of their socialist rivals and sabotaged the expected victory of the left ambitious policies of 1981. His secin the 1978 parliamentary elections.

The collapse of the communist vote in the 1981 presidential elec- ies of domestic and international power in the second round at the | unable to prevent widening social head of a coalition of socialist enthu- | inequalities and to slow the march siasts, communist voters, and Gaul- of unemployment to the 3 million list and non-party malcontents. It | mark, an increase that proved a ferwas a sensational victory and one | tile recruiting ground for the exthat Mitterrand immediately consol- treme right politics of la Pen's idated by holding fresh elections for National Front. The collapse of the the National Assembly in which the | Soviet empire left France once again

divided into three periods. In the rand strove energetically to organfirst, he and his governments lise the new European disorder by a sought to realise the economic, so- series of diplomatic moves, of which cial and political reforms of French | the most substantial was the 1991 socialism. The guillotine was abol- Maastricht Treaty, accelerating the He was distrusted by the left for | ished; civil liberties and trade union | Vichy government and was awarded | his willingness to lock up Algerian | rights were strengthened; local government was freed from the stifling his enemies this showed his dupli- | dence began in 1954 and by the na- | embrace of centralisation; and welcitous opportunism, to his support- tionalist right for his Europeanism | fare benefits were increased. The in finding a cover for his resistance | for France's sub-Saharan colonies. | extensive programme of nationalisa-This period gave Mitterrand his rep- tion and demand stimulation that Mitterrand emerged from the utation for Machiavellian cunning. set France on a course diametrically opposed to that being followed in

He shared with de Gaulle a cold ruthlessness and a refusal to bow to US høgemony

counter the Soviet threat.

Within two years of taking office. Mitterrand's recovery programme nationalist right rather than with established as a drivingly ambitious, - as it much later transpired - of crashed because of low investment, pair that he too was accused of finanpolitician. Elected to the National tempt, He was out of office for 23 | currency. Thus in 1983 a second ! Once again Mitterrand's sheet period began as Mitterrand aban-Mitterrand's long march to power | doned the dream of "socialism in one | came to the surface. His opponent country" and turned to the new continued to treat him with wary

company profitability. His conversion was probably cialism had never been based on economics. In the short term, emmeted. But his control over his ority in the National Assembly re-In 1971 he engineered the sort of mained intact and gradually the François Maurice Marie Mitterrand.

him to consolidate a highly effective

land harbour were shrugged aside. The second period also saw the European Community move to the centre of the political agenda. He

ond term soon turned sour. His problems originated in a serexposed to the awful power of its Mitterrand's presidency can be neighbour across the Rhine. Mitterprocess of Community integration.

> charges of personal corruption; but his haughty manner and his extravagant use of public money for publie, and private, ceremony caused

Mitterrand made the disastrou miscalculation of sacking his respected prime minister Michel Ro eard and replacing him by Edith Cresson, of whom it might polite be said that she was a long-time friend. Cresson proved totally un able to win the respect of the nation dragging Mitterrand down with her.
Mitterrand was unable to achieve

more than the narrowest of major ties in the 1992 referendum of Maastricht Within months the Socialist party he had done so much to create went down to overwhelm ing defeat in the parliamentary elec tions. In a melancholy epilogue, hi last socialist prime minister, Pierre Bérégovoy, shot himself out of des

toughness and imperturbability fer the fate of American equivalents like Carter, Machiavelli never became Lear, though the revelation of his Vichy past inevitably pose the question of what, apart from his own star, he had ever believed in.

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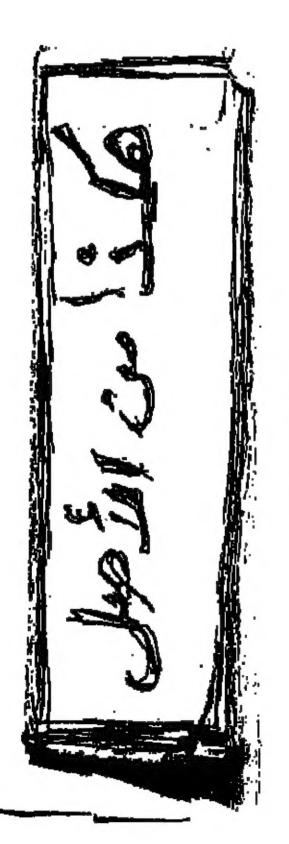
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toting knives and iron bars. This follows a spate of recent incidents in a PR story dreamed up by Camelot. which people, including policemen. have been killed or seriously injured with such weapons.

After the death of headmaster Philip Lawrence (a 15-year-old youth | how more immoral than betting on has since been charged with his murder), police offered an amnesty Yet another shared a more general to notential offenders who were prepared to hand in their "blades". Soon after, however, a 19-year-old youth was kicked and beaten to death by teenage thugs in Stratford-upon- ONTROVERSY over the Care Avon, and four police officers were in the Community scheme was assaulted in one evening in Birming- rekindled when two mentally ill harn by gangs wielding sledge-ham-mers, an iron bar and knives. One killings carried out after they had officer, a woman, sustained a frac- been discharged, or given leave, tured skill, and the others received I from London hospitals

attacks, the West Midlands chief | bail for firearms offences, was said constable. Sir Ronald Hadfield, said to have gone on a "rampage of vioit was time his officers had some- lence", fatally shooting and stabbing thing better than batons to defend | two people and injuring three others themselves with. The junior Home | — all strangers. And Martin Mur-Office minister, Ann Widdecombe, | cell, released from psychiatric hossaid the Government agreed and had already given its support to tri- paranoid schizophrenia, murdered als of CS gas sprays.

Therein, however, lies the problem inother. Independent inquiries were lem. Trials of CS gas, which began last year, were halted when a police instructor needed hospital treat- are supposed to be discharged into loan. ment for eye burns after being the "community" only when doctors sprayed. Pepper sprays pose even | and social workers are satisfied it is greater hazards.

Police chiefs are expected to approperly supervised and cared for. prove the resumption of CS gas trials at a meeting later this month but | ders by former in-patients, have fu there will, inevitably, be anxiety elled criticism that the release about the creation of a more militarist force that could further isolate itself from the community it is there to serve. Sir Ronald's officers may have to depend on their batons for a while yet.

MAN of 85 was put into the asked to prepare an "options analy- last week by the Government's for- Agency, told local authority leaders dock of a magistrates' court in sis" (to consider alternative uses for Surrey to face allegations about the building) provoked an enraged events that happened more than 50

carpenter, is the first British resi- Britain's maritime heritage, somedent to be prosecuted as an alleged | thing he would have thought "even Nazi war criminal. It is claimed that | a little creep like Portillo [the Dehe murdered three unknown Jews in | fence Secretary!" would have appre-Bielarus, the country of his birth, | ciated. The Government performed when the former Soviet republic was a swift handbrake turn and denied occupied by the Germans in 1941.

His prosecution was made possible by the War Crimes Act of 1991, pushed through by the Thatcher government. These initial committal proceedings, which cannot be reported, may alone cost £1.5 million.

AST SATURDAY was solemnly described as "the most communal national experience since the VE-Day celebrations". It was the day when the National Lottery, now the world's biggest, offered record total prize money of £81.4 million, and a jackpot prize of £42 million, which was shared by three unnamed winners. The organisers, Camelot, reckoned that 90 per cent of the population had bought at least one

N SPITE OF the increase in gun-related crime, most British police-men are still resistant to the idea of weeks, was the trigger for the nearcarrying firearms. There are, how-ever, demands that they should be normal weekly £65 million to £128 better protected — with pepper or | million. Tales abounded of an Aus-CS gas sprays -- against teenagers | tralian syndicate staking £14 million, though this was thought to be

> A number of bishops voiced their unease. One said it was \*not the British way", while another seemed to consider lottery gambling some horses or playing the football pools. view that there should be a greater number of smaller prizes.

Wayne Hutchinson, given leave Alarmed by the ferocity of these | from a hospital although he was on pital where he was being treated for his step-father and stabbed his

> ordered in both cases. Patients once held in institutions safe to do so and that they can be But these two cases, and other murscheme is poorly organised and

A DMIRALTY ARCH, one of London's foremost landmarks, is not to be sold after all. News that a life from its place as the dunce of firm of estate agents had been the developed world was outlined reaction from Admiral of the Fleet Lord Hill-Norton. The building, he Szymon Serafinowicz, a retired declared, was an intrinsic part of any plan to sell.





Buckets of trouble . . . Residents of Ashington, Northumberland, queueing for water PHOTO: OWENHUMPIFE:

# Insurers face huge burst pipes bill

RITAIN's battered insurance market is facing the new burden of an estimated £500 million bill for damage caused by burst pipes and disrupted water supplies in the sudden new year thaw, write Martin Wainwright and David Ward

The Government last week offered talks with local authorities on help for dealing with the clear-up, but ministers were cagey about whether that would include substantial funding. Army tankers have been deployed to help supply parts of Scotland still being disrupted — working in tandem with whisky lorries or

Insurance offices in Scotland, Newcastle upon Tyne and

10-YEAR plan to lift Britain

ment for Education, proposed a £1

billion programme to raise achieve-

ment over the next 10 years. He said

more than many competitors.

fighting for scraps from the table.

Geoffrey said. He said A levels

to raise achievement all round," Sir secretary.

mer senior education adviser.

**Donald MacLeod** 

education system.

Plan to raise UK's image

Sir Geoffrey Holland, former per- | teacher training by half, to avoid a

manent secretary at the Depart- shortage as fewer people join the pro-

Britain had slipped from 14th to rassing moment for ministers, who

18th in a league of global competi- are trying to hold the line on teach-

tiveness because of the quality of era' pay, a key factor in promoting

had slipped from 21st to 24th, while to be tackled, and it might be neces-

in education the UK was ranked sary to restrict early retirement to

35th in the world despite spending | avoid difficulties by the end of the

ties they would have to improve | tary, of lurching to the right of her

leges by 30 per cent with few extra | ing proposals to allow state schools

resources. With two-thirds of public to select up to 15 per cent of its

because of an ageing population and | "Parents will no longer choose

high unemployment, education was their school; instead, schools will

"It is time for a national crusade | David Blunkett, shadow education

mated and taken whenever candi- significant change of character.

century, she said.

the work force and the inadequate | the image of the profession.

as 'dunce of the world'

Manchester have been inundated with claims. Some householders are videoing flood expensive repairs. People affected by cut-offs will

receive compensation payments of £10 per 24 hours without supply from the water companies, which will be required to make the payments from profits and not by increasing customer charges. The biggest payouts are expected in Ashington and Newbiggin on the Northumberland coast.

The Water Services Association said that temperatures in the North-east had gone from -10C to 3C overnight, imposing huge strains on the pipes

dates reached a certain standard

rather than at a certain age, to get

Meanwhile Anthea Millett, chief

executive of the Teacher Training

that the Government is to increase

Her admission that the target was

The 25 per cent dropout rate

pick the parents and pupils," said

the contract of the contract o

"challenging" comes at an embar-

fession and thousands retire early.

rid of the stigma of failure.

and causing fracturing earth movements. The freeze had already expanded the water and contracted the metal, leading t cracks at vulnerable junctions. As a row raged over the priva tised water companies' performance, it emerged that three of the directors of Northumbrian Water have received confirmation that they will share profit of more than £1 million from their share options as a result of the successful French takeover bid for the firm.

Lyonnaise des Eaux's takeover is set to add £567,000 to the expected remuneration package of £205,000 for David Crauston, in 1996.

# Women-only shortlist illegal

Martin Wainwright Clare Dyer and Rebecca Smithers

ABOUR'S controversial women \_\_only shortlist policy was torpe doed on Monday in the unlikely forum of a Leeds industrial tribunal heralding months of possible legal battles over one of the party's most radical internal reforms.

A three-strong panel ruled that confining the chance to fight parlia mentary seats to one sex was contrary to the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act, however well-intentioned the aim of increasing the total of worker. MPs. Of Labour's 270 MPs, 38 art ); In terms of skill the work force | among trainee teachers would have

The party is likely to appeal, but has frozen selection in nine seati, with women-only shortlists until it ft. ceives the full written judgment b Sir Geoffrey, vice-chancellor of Labour accused Gillian Shephard, the next two weeks. Thirty-to-Exeter university, told local authori- Education and Employment Secre- women candidates have been chose achievement in schools and col- predecessor, John Patten, in advanc- tion mark hangs over a further far constituencies where the process di selecting a woman candidate was

spending going to social security, pupils on the basis of general ability. due to start soon. The Conservatives and Liberal Democrats seized on the ruling s evidence of an "unfair" policy.

Diana Maddock, Liberal Denos rat women's affairs spokeswones. Mrs Shephard was warned that said: "Parliament would greatly ber should be scrapped as no longer | this new guidance would clearly in- | efit from having more women, relevant. Vocational and academic fringe legislation obliging schools to the way to achieve that is through qualifications should be amalga- get government approval for any programme of positive action rather than positive discrimination."-

Northumbrian's chief executive,

# gramme that Marks & Spencer

A FURORE over allegations of deliberate starvation, sexual assault and systematic medical malpractice in Chinese orphanages cast a pall over a fencemending visit to Hong Kong and

China by the Foreign Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind. Washington Post, page 15

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

S HELL'S sponsorhip of the Royal Geographic Society should be ended immediately,

the annual conference of British

ICHAEL EAVIS, founder of the Glastonbury festival,

cancelled this year's event, say-

ing it needed a rest to recapture

ALF OF the chemists inves-

tigated by the Consumers'
Association sold the wrong drugs

or failed to give the right advice, Which? magazine reported.

BRITAIN'S key intelligence co-ordinating job is to go to the chief policy adviser to Sir Leon Brittan, the UK's senior

European Commissioner, in a

EMMA NICHOLSON, the Tory MP who defected to the

Liberal Democrats, vowed to

fight on as MP for West Devon

for a byelection.

and Torridge in the face of calls

AUL GRECIAN, the former

the intelligence agencies to the

Iraqi supergun, will remain in a

American request for his extra-

dition is heard later this month.

AVID Hempleman-Adams,

aged 39, completed a 680-

mile solo walk to the South Pole,

the first Briton to do so unaided.

A CLAIM made in Granada

was employing child labour in a

clothes for its high street shops,

David Sieff, the great-grandson

has been vigorously denied by

of the chain's founder.

TV's World in Action pro-

Moroccan factory producing

South African jail until an

arms dealer who first alerted

shake-up of Whitehall posts.

its original hippie spirit.

geographers demanded in an

emergency resolution.

January 14 1996

In Brief

CHARD BRANSON, the millionaire entrepreneur, threatened to boycott the inquiry caused by his allegation that GTech had attempted to bribe him to pull out of the bidding to run the Lottery because the terms of reference by which the inquiry had been set up would not be perceived as independent.

AND'S END and John o' Groats have come on the market together for the first time, giving someone with £5.5 million the chance to buy Britain's most northerly and westerly points. The New Zealand property comboth sites in order to concentrate on investments back home.

### solar energy PHOTOGRAPH: MERAN DOHERTY **US envoy back in Belfast**

wait for a helicopter to lift them off the Hanois Lighthouse in

David Sharrock

OPES are rising that the wave of IRA murders of petty criminals which has claimed five lives in as many weeks is drawing to a close, as the commission on illegal arms returns to Belfast this week.

Sinn Fein made its second comment in three days on the murders. after it was goaded by John Major into a response to his challenge to stop the killings. Mr Major's hard tone was prefaced by his belief that the murders would stop once the international body, led by President province and concludes its report.

his assessment on the basis of briefand the IRA's intentions.

government officials last week, after which the party's vice-president, Pat Doherty, said Sinn Fein was trying | tion to work for its success. Mr Doherty also said he ex-

A Sinn Fein delegation met Irish

British and Irish governments by the end of the month. The tenor of | cial security system. his comments was in marked contrast to those made 10 days ago by gence could lead to a resumption of

tional body's report will lead to an ending of the killings and punishment beatings, and possibly to a Mr Major is likely to have made | stronger commitment by the IRA to | Banks, aged 61. At least, until maintaining its ceasefire, possibly ings from Dublin about Sinn Fein | along the lines of the loyalists' "no | the script first strike" pledge.

# Inmate chained in labour ward Cambridgeshire, John Major's parliamentary constituency. All

OLLOWAY women's prison in | an absolute rule that we don't handnorth London was at the centre | cuff women or restrain them while of a new controversy last week as a they are actually in childbirth." secretly filmed TV news report showed a pregnant prisoner being nor of Holloway, where an inspection Mrs Banks officially deceased. chained and handcuffed every time she moved away from a hospital bed, before and after giving birth, writes Vivek Chaudhary.

Ann Widdecombe, the Home Of fice minister, defended the practice of manacling pregnant prisoners. "We have had one woman abscond

Meanwhile, Janet King, the goverlast month discovered overzealous security and unacceptably dirty conditions, is to be transferred and re- With due solemnity, they made placed by Michael Sheldrick.

The revelation that women pris- Banks's body and placed her on oners in Holloway were manacled was cited by Emma Nicholson as the factor which finalised her deciwhen she was fairly well into her sion to defect from the Tories to the Hospital, where it was wheeled pregnancy," she said. "But we have Liberal Democrats last month." to the mortuary.

Blair unveils 'big idea' for economy

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Singapore and Michael White

ONY BLAIR this week unveiled his vision of a "stake-holder society", binding all parts of the community to a common national enterprise as the key to restoring Britain's fortunes and as the economic big idea that will help beat the Tories in the election.

The Labour leader chose a brief excursion into the economic powerprovide Labour's answer to Conservative party sloganeering about making Britain "the enterprise centre of Europe".

want Britain to be a stakeholder economy where everyone has a chance to get on and succeed, where there is a clear sense of national purpose and where we leave behind some of the battles between

outside Europe - was intended partly to show off "what an incoming Labour government looks like" and to reassure business by spreading New Labour's message on the dynamic Pacific Rim.

Sourred by the interest he feels he received from Japan's industrial barons, Mr Blair made a speech to Singapore's business community to present his "economic justification

From the lighthouse . . . Keepers Dave Appleby and Dave McGovern for social cohesion". The main thrust of his argument Guernsey. It is the first in the British Isles to be fully automated by is that "the creation of an economy where we are inventing and produc-

ing goods and services of high quality needs the engagement of the whole country". This needs a relationship of trust between government and people, he reasons. If people feel they have no stake in the economy, they feel little

responsibility for it and little inclina-Mr Blair said his party was studying Singapore's system of compulsory savings to see if Britain could learn from it to improve its own so-

"Our welfare state at the moment isn't functioning in the way that it should. It is neither helping those who are the poorest nor is it giving people the encouragement and incentive they need to get back into

UK NEWS 9

Economists say the popular Central Provident Fund savings scheme, which forces workers to save 20 per cent of their income for pensions, medical care and insur ance and then makes employers match the contribution, has been one of the keys to Singapore's phenomenal success.

These savings are channelled by the government as investment into industry and provide a constant flow of long-term money for spending on infrastructure like telecommunications and railways.

Mr Blair flew back to London from his whirlwind Asian tour on left and right which really are not | Monday night pursued by praise relevant in the new global economy from the creators of Singapore's economic miracle and condemnation for his vision of a "stakeholder Singapore — his first major visit | society" from the self-styled cre-

While Lee Kuan Yew, Singapore's former prime minister, heaped plaudits on the Labour leader — much as he once did for Harold Wilson and then Margaret Thatcher -Michael Heselting led a cabinet hit squad targeting Mr Blair as an outdated corporatist.

"Of course I'm impressed." Mr Lee answered journalists, "He is young, energetic, doing well within the Labour party and the country."

As ministers in London struggled to obey John Major's edict to ston squabbling in public, Mr Heseltine said that the Conservatives had created the real stakeholder society in the 1980s when they sold shares,

utilities and council houses. He said: "Labour have fought us every step of the way. Who would be their stakeholders? The trade unions and the leftwing-dominated single issue pressure groups.

Michael Portillo said: "If this is his new idea, he's 16 years out of date."

Comment, page 12

# his colleague, Mitchel McLaughlin, When he said that British intransi- Thwarting the grim reaper

**Edward Pilkington** 

IT WAS a classic death, played with admirable conviction by a farmer's wife called Dapline the plot straved drastically from

Mrs Banks's death began moothly when she collapsed on New Year's Day in Huntingdon, the usual stops were pulled.

The police were called and went through the motions of a routine operation. The local GF was summoned to pronounce

Next, the undertakers arrived dressed, of course, in black. the initial preparations of Mrs

The ambulance took Mrs Banks's body to Hinchingbrook

If the story had ended there, it could have been classified as a perfect death. But the attendants were astonished to see movement. To use more technical language, Mrs Banks was breathing.

William Goldby, area manager of funeral directors TL Cobbole of Hail Weston, said: "A member of my staff actually detected signs of life. He did not detect any sign of a pulse, but there was a rise and fall of the chest.

"This member of staff is a friend of Mrs Banks's family and he was already upset to hear of her death. The whole thing has been highly traumatic for him."

A "crash team" of doctors and medics trained to prevent death were then assigned the rather more onerous task of bringing her back from the dead. They succeeded.

After a spell in the emergency ward followed by intensive care, Mrs Banks is now recovering satisfactorily in a general ward.

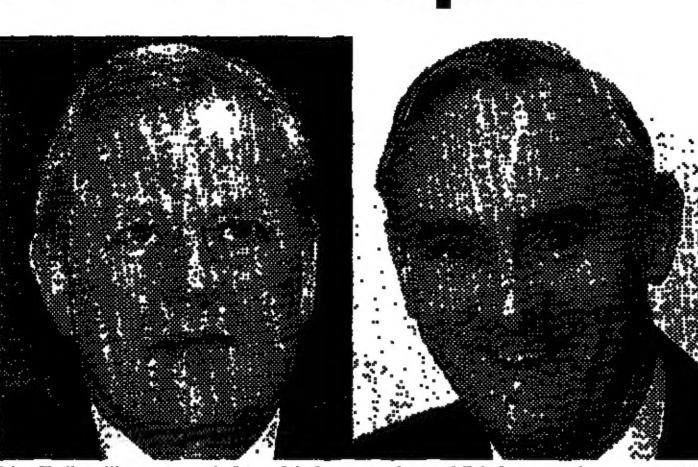


Seumas Milne and Ian Black

RITAIN'S biggest arms com-panies collaborated secretly with ministers, Whitehall officials and the CIA to find a way of "stifling" the Saudi opposition leader. Mohammed al-Mas'ari, according to a confidential report by the chief executive of the defence firm, Vickers.

The internal Vickers memorandum, written by Sir Colin Chandler - formerly head of arms exports at the Ministry of Defence - provides an extraordinary insight into the relationship between government and the defence industry and their conmon determination to neutralise the threat to multi-billion pound contracts posed by the presence of Saudi dissidents in London.

The menio, dated last September Saudi Arabia secret intelligence on a discussion with Dick Evans, chief Saddam Hussein to appease Saudi anger over Mr al-Mas'ari's activities | reported anxiety in the CIA "and | to "direct Saudi intervention" against attempts to "stifle him personally". family and the presence of western tain them.



Sir Colin Chandler (left), chief executive of Vickers, who wrote the memo, and Andrew Green, the next ambassador to Saudi Arabia

executive of British Aerospace, who

In a three-page note to David | troops in the kingdom. As well as Hastie - Vickers's international re- the exchanges with Mr Evans and lations director and another former Mike Rouse of British Aerospace. MoD official — Sir Colin describes | the Vickers memo refers to contacts with Sir David Lees, chairman o GKN, over the al-Mas'ari case. Based on the al-Yamamah deal in London. The document also refers | their counterparts in this country" | signed by Margaret Thatcher in the about the impact of Mr al-Mas'ari's | mid-1980s, all three firms depend the prominent Saudi dissident, and | campaign against the Saudi royal | on huge Saudi deals or hope to at-

Highlighting the symbiotic relationship between the arms firms and various branches of government, to taxpayers and BAe's chief executive proposing jointly that the Government try to "offset some of the Saudi criticism of us" by inviting President Saddam's son-in-law - who defected to Jordan last August - to Britain and then "feeding some of the intelligence back to the kingdom". Sir Colin was later telephoned

Andrew Green — recently appointed British ambassador to Saudi Arabia - who told him that a British debriefing had already taken place in Amman and "material had been passed to both King Fahd and the Saudi foreign minister". This had "earned us many plaudits". It later emerged that Mr Green has been a non-executive director of Vickers since April 1994

A Foreign Office spokeswoman said: "There's no conflict of interest. It's a very logical choice that Mr | dam project. The origins of the Green should be appointed ambassador to Riyadh and advise Vickers. It is a company that is interested that part of the world. That does not suggest anything improper."

questionable project while negotiating an arms deal with Malaysia worth £1.3 billion, Per capita aid to Indonesia has more than quadrupled over the past 15 years in spite of its compara tive wealth and continuing occupation of East Timor. The aid package coincided with Indonesia's agreement to buy British Aerospace Hawk aircraft with the prospect (recently re-

alised) of further deals. In 1985. Thatcher signed the unprecedented oil-for-arms al-Yamamah deal with Saudi Arabia, worth £2 billion a year. A National Audit Office report on the deal, including references to reports of alleged "kickbacks", has been suppressed That same year Thatcher signed a £270 million Jordan defence package when the Government knew Jordan was a conduit for

British arms to Iraq. Labour MPs are acutely aware that it is easy to shout about the immorality of arms deals, but not so easy to see the jobs of their constituents being threatened. Yet the World Development

Movement, a leading Third World campaigning group, has uncarthed a huge undeclared bill paid by British taxpayers for weapons exported to countries which are either rich or have an and sometimes both.

It found that at least £384 ml lion a year is paid by the British taxpayer, not by foreign governments buying the weapons. In each of the five years up to 1995, the Export Credits the Government's claim that arms exports sustain 100,000 jobs in an industry which - de spite the MoD's rhetoric - over the past decade has accounted for only 1.7 per cent of total British average annual exports. Sixty per cent of ECGD guar-

antees devoted to arms sales were accounted for by the Middle East, according to the ECGD's latest annual report Saudi Arabia was top of the table for ECGD business in 1994, and now lies in second place after China.

Vickers, British Aerospace, GKN and VSEL are negotiating aeronautical or defence sales worth £3 billion. cost a bomb

GUARDIAN WEBO

COMMENT Richard Norton-Taylor

I OHN MAJOR's administra tion, like its predecessors, is obsessed with selling British weapons abroad. It has distorted its own human rights guidelines to sell arms to lucrative, mainly Middle East and Asian, markets. It has manipulated official crite ria covering aid to persuade for eign governments to buy British weapons. It has even provided secret intelligence to countries. including Saudi Arabia, in the hope of future arms deals. In 1989 the Government ear-

marked £234 million from the

aid budget to Malaysia's Pergau

decision, subsequently ruled unlawful by the High Court, lay

in Mrs Thatcher's promise to

provide aid for the economically

nine-mile stretch to the west. The lines are already drawn for the so-called Third Battle of Newbury, which this time pits bailiffs against road protesters. It could spark off any day, when cranes and of hundreds of people, living in wig- southern was started at the end of wise you go mad." wams, benders and treehouses last month at Penwood; three proalong the route of the proposed A34 | testers climbed the 100ft oak trees | ing as the evictions draw closer. It is | bilise immediately. bypass. Applications for eviction were handed to some of the camps | bases. on December 20.

ticularly contemporary conflicts.

town, formed one the most powerful

with its nuclear warheads, and the

focus of attention has shifted to a

at Twyford Down near Winchester in 1992, the sight of dreadlocked campaigners being forcibly removed from the paths of new roads has become a common phenomenon. But Newbury is different. The project is more controversial. The protest as a result will be bigger and more violent.

The protesters feel they have won post-war culture of road building.

OR SUCH an otherwise unre- | ernment has, too, for in the Budget m markable town. Newbury last November Chancellor Kenneth boasts a strangely rich history | Clarke announced massive cuts in of civil disobedience. Twice, Oliver the road programme (although this Cromwell's Roundheads fought the | was more likely simply a move to Cavaliers there during the civil war help finance the penny cut in it that eventually deposed the monar-chy. Three centuries later the gentle, come tax, rather than evidence of a new transport strategy). The timing wooded Berkshire countryside has was impeccable, however -- only again become the backdrop for par- the day before the Budget the final £66 million Newbury bypass go-The women camped at Greenham ahead was given. Common, to the south east of the

As the bailiffs move in to dislodge the Newbury

bypass protesters from their entrenched camps,

Alex Bellos charts the changing face of dissent

Badger, aged 24, was the first protester to live on the bypass images of protest in the 1980s. But | route. He pitched up 18 months ago the US air base has long gone, along | and his solitary dwelling has grown into a network of three camps on Snelsmore Common, one of three Sites of Special Scientific Interest (SSSI) the road will slice through.

The Snelsmore camps — postal along the route. The ninth and most

Since the Dongas tribe inaugu- protesters are set to give their most | building in a tree. People are more veterans of previous protests, and ways to stop the digging. After experiments at various other sites. possible living in treehouses. Each introduces some tactics of the Viet- be linked by walkways - two paralcong to British road protest.

If tree-village life is straight out of | feet in the air. Tolkien, then beneath the surface is The Great Escape. When the bailifts the moral argument against the come, some men have agreed to and diversity. There are about 50 hide down a tunnel built 10ft under | along the route, some with glass Public opinion has certainly moved | the camp. "I will get down there, dig | windows, others with pine walls in their direction. Perhaps the Gov- | some more and use the landfill to | and chrome-style chimneys. The



Branching out . . . Widening support is reflected in the broad spectrum of followers

"We have food stored down there address Pixie Village - make up | and I think I can probably stay down the largest of the evergrowing num- for a month. It depends how grim it ber of protest colonies spreading gets. There are air-holes, but I think the body also needs light. Other-

to tie wooden beams for treehouse | bitterly cold and the only sounds are the chopping of wood and the occas-But it is at Snelsmore that the | sional shout for help by a protester the ground and the lel ropes between trees — dozens of

> The wealth of treehouse-making skills is evident from their number "mothership", by the river Kennet, is the largest protest treellouse in

Badger says they have new tactics to thwart eviction and that there will be so many protesters that i will be possible to immobilise them 100ft above the ground. "The trees are our domain. We just need the volume of people with the knowledge of climbing," he says, "All the lines on to us and then belay us then lowering them down.

 in the uniform of a harness ianlooking forward to the struggle.

On the ground, some protesters | her job to live there full-time. will be trying out new techniques of hand is then handouffed to a metal | terborough who decided to spend | an hour passing through the town. locked-on protesters. One 19-year- ing some of his annual holiday to old girl said it took bailiffs more live at the camp. lock-on at Thanet last year."

more sophisticated network of com- evident feeling of mutual respect, walkie-talkie to be in constant touch | Most people drift between sites. ... with a co-ordinating office in New-

tree — a series of lists of phone numbers of thousands of local people, and still growing daily. On the | tile, as the protest will almost cerfirst day of the evictions, an "aruga" | tainly be defeated? "Money is the will be issued, activating the tree only language they understand, so Work in all the camps is intensify— with the message of where to mo- we have made it ours. If we delay

Although protests have not so far the protesters have witnessed a sen change in attitudes towards the is- and dole. None has much money: heroic resistance. Many there are difficult to evict when they are off | sues they are fighting for, and espe- on average they survive on \$10 they are constantly thinking up new | Snelsmore — as in previous | themselves. Perhaps this is a result of high profile figures, such as Bel-Newbury for the first time properly | of the three camps will eventually | their aims and factics. Perhaps at comes from the demonstrations against yeal exports a year ago, in

> Although protests have not stopped a single road being built, they have seen a sea change in public opinion

which middle-class housewives joined more radical elements of the animal welfare inovement.

What is undeniable is that bailiffs try to do is clip one of their | crusty, dirty image of the 1980s protester has enjoyed an ethical and culdown. We can do that, too. We will | tural makeover. This widening | she adds, when push comes to be clipping other lines to them and | support can be seen in the broad spectrum of people camping along His treemen friends around him the Newbury route. At the camp by the river Kennet the residents ingling with karabiners — are silently | cluded a young market research executive. In July, she picked up a

block up the entrance," says the | Some protesters have mobile | not fun. Now it's cold, and tree evicphones. But the most legendary | tion is a traumatic experience. It's weapon in their armoury is a phone like someone kicking your home

> Doesn't he feel it's all rather futhe road it costs them more money. And this might mean they can't stopped a single road being built, afford other roads." The protesters

> As well as the migrant protesters attracted to the camps, there is a Mooney at Batheaston, supporting | solid base of locals against the bypass. Helen Anscomb, a comprehensive school Latin teacher in her forties, started campaigning against roads in 1979. She was the origina objector at the 1938 public inquiry. and is currently taking the Government to the European Court to try to have the road stopped.

> > When the bypass was first given the go-ahead in 1994 she founded the Third Battle of Newbury, which became an umbrella for all the campaigning groups. It spawned the phone tree - her own numbers to call are stuck on her wall at home — but the disparate and headstrong nature of the supporters has left it without leaders or a plan of action. She says: "Our strength is that nobody knows who we are or what we are going to do. In fact, we don't know who we are or what we are going to do." But, shove, thousands will turn up to stop the bailiffs.

In all the argument over the bypass, the one undeniable fact is that Newbury has a traffic problem. The Highways Agency claims tha The bailiffs are also likely to be vet- hitchhiker who invited her to have a 50,000 vehicles a day currently use erans of previous protests, with the look at the Newbury camp. She re- the A34, paralysing the town centre. specialised climbing skills required. | turned every week and has just left | Those in favour of the new road which includes an overwhelming maj-Also at Kennet were a 35-year-old ority of local people, according to "lock-ons" — blocks of concrete | unemployed man from Southainp. | the agency — believe that it will rewith a hole to put one's hand in. The | ton; a 19-year-old woman from Peril move 70 per cent of the 480 lorries

 The strongest argument against Glass, rubber and metal are often ling from one road camp to another; wit; put forward by Friends of the mixed in with the concrete to hinder | and a 30-year-old mental health | Earth, is not that it will destroy parts the drills the balliffs need to free the | worker from Newcastle who is tak- | of three SSSIs and two archaeological sites. It is that the road is pointless. The organisation says its than seven hours to remove her . The reason they all give for being surveys show that most of the trafthere is a passionate belief in the life is local, that the bypass will at The Newbury camps boast a protection of nature. But despite an first have only a marginal effect, and by 2002 traffic levels will be nunication than previous road there is little sense of community. back to where they are now. There central tube giving access to a ber | protests. Each camp has a CB | There are no leaders or structures. are also quibbles with the procedures that the Government followed ... "We are here just to bry and stop | although any verdict on that by the bury, staffed by local volunteers and the destruction," said a 38-year-old | European Court is unlikely to come glass to hamper demolition. funded by Friends of the Earth. former environmental worker. "It's before the road is already built."

# Crude deals that buy our silence

Martin Woollacott deplores the West's dependence on Saudi oil and the compromises we make to retain it

long been twin themes in and from any urging of change. Saudi Arabia. It was the British gift of German rifles captured from the lity. Saudi Arabia is neither feudal Turks which first tipped the tribal arms balance in the Arabian peninsula definitively in 1bn Saud's favour during the first world war.

Seventy years after the conquest of Mecca by Saudi forces, Britain is still in the business of supplying came. arms to the Saudis and its instincmands of Ibn Saud's descendants.

posed to take the dissident who has writer on Gulf affairs puts it, that earned Saudi wrath by his skilful ex- | they have a right to win the National ploitation of the fax machine and his | Lottery every year. This cannot be | ability to feed the information the basis, unamended, of a polity hunger of a society starved of reli- that will survive. Saudi Arabia needs able news. It is a bizarre solution to not so much democracy, which is this particular instance of our de far, far away, as to make a start in uendence on the objectionable, diffi- that direction by disciplining the cult, and fragile regime of Saudi royal clan, and giving a degree of Arabia. One has only to imagine the | political participation to the edudifference had Mohammed al- cated and the merchant class Mas'ari been, say, a Syrian, Chinese, or Nigerian dissident to grasp how complete that dependence is.

British dependence on Saudi Arabia is only part of a general western dependence, a dependence made worse by the fact that the industrial is essentially useless. The Gulf war countries relish any disadvantage | showed that Saudi Arabia did not suffered by one another in the have the capacity to defend itself exscramble for Saudi money. In such a cept with American help. With all its | man who may even try to introduce | endless prograstination. Yet if the | had to pay out some £250 miles situation morality, common sense money, it lacks the population base some reforms. But those who re- Saudi regime meets disaster at lion to foot the bill for unpaid and the long-term interest of the to be in the same military league as West as a whole always suffer. It is powers like Iraq, Iran, or Egypt. that overall dependence that is the real scandal, the real problem, and I trade, which soaks up so much of the real difficulty.

telligent Saudis - and including some enlightened members of the the regime. only be achieved through reform. with, first of all, cheap oil and then Yet reform is a rarer commodity in | with the huge arms, construction | Saudi Arabia than water in the and other contracts for which the desert, and the western pressure | western countries so nakedly conits power to purchase near absolute | telephone exchanges but about the | military rebellions of earlier years. | dismally illustrates.

RMS and appeasement have | immunity from any form of criticism

Words like "feudal", phrases like "desert kingdom", conceal the realnor a true kingdom. It is an ascendancy of one family and one religious tendency over a patchwork of conquered territories, in all of which still live men and women who remember a time before the Saudis

that an estimated 40 to 45 new males are added to it every month, Dominica, of all places, is sup- all of them convinced, as one British

The Saudi regime has retained its appetite for inilitary technology long after the rationale for it has departed. The expensive weaponry the Saudis have bought from the United States, France, and Britain

The main function of this arms Saudi wealth, however, is some-Most people, including most in- thing different. It is a pay-off for western passivity, argue critics of

immunity of the Saudi regime from western criticism and pressure on the one hand and the West's need for money on the other.

In the case of the Americans. Saudi Arabia is also seen as vital to that overall American dominance in the Middle East which has become so complete since 1989. In addition, the Americans calculate that Saudi Arabia must be kept sweet so that it can be brought in to cement any Arab-Israeli settlement with money and diplomatic recognition.

Thus it is that whenever the Saudis squeeze, something almost The size of the royal clan is such invariably gives in the West. Democratic countries who ought to be urging change not only do not do so but they even try to silence, as Britain is trying to do, Saudi critics abroad who have broken no laws. Crown Prince Abdullah bin Abdul Aziz, who has recently taken over

> Reform is rarer in Saudi Arabia than water in the desert, and western pressure that might help bring it is rarer still

because of the illness of King Fahd, has the reputation of being a decent tion are not holding their breath.

close to some great crisis. The Sud- easy to do so. deiris, the branch of the royal family

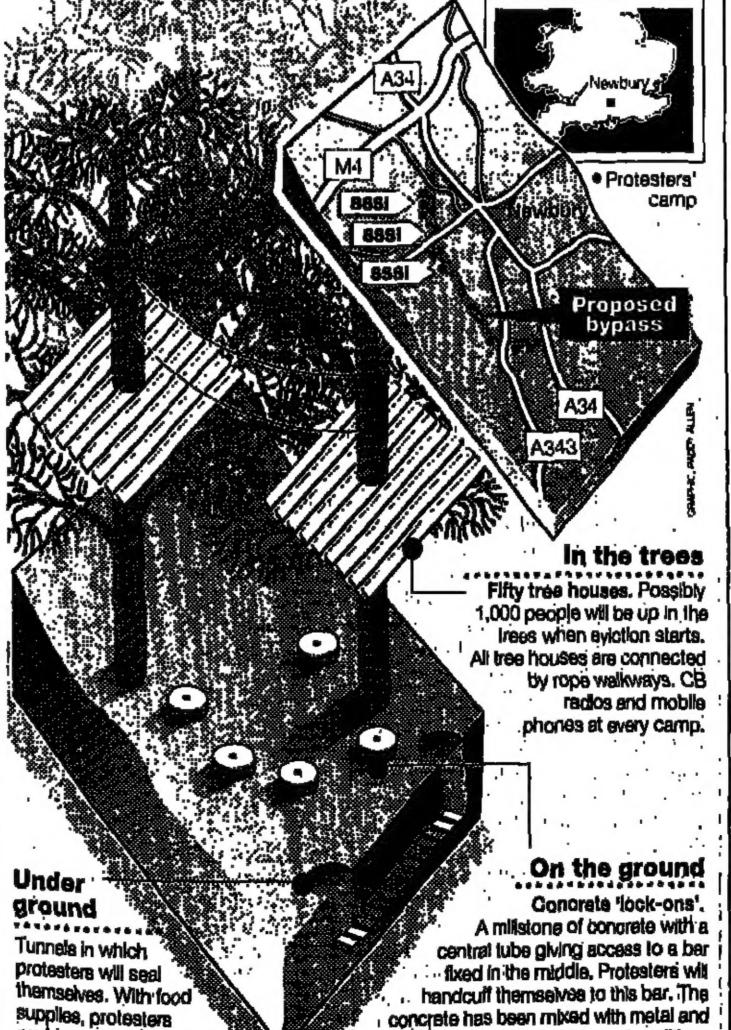
The educated classes are angry with the princes but not to the point of risking the chaos which radical political change might bring. The religious are divided but still mainly endorse Saudi rule. The location of oil in the eastern parts of the country means that other, historically restive, regions see the unity of a state they otherwise resent as vital. To some degree, the whole society has been compromised and opted. So the regime does have time - but the question is whether it capable of using it.

The real weight of al-Mas'ari as an opposition figure is hard to measure. But what he has demonstrated is that there is a front on which the regime is open to challenge. He has countered the extraordinary Saudi dominance of the Arab press, much of which they own outright and nearly all of which they influence. Using the fax as a means of transmission and the formats of business iournalism -- newsletters and country and industry reports complete with charts and tables - for presentation, he has cut a swathe through

Saudi information barriers. Reports on economic tendencies and critiques of corruption are interspersed with lists of arrests, gossip, and Koranic interpretations. Operations like this cannot be stopped by appalling human rights record, the deportation of one man.

The British ministries, the intelligence services and the companies who have contributed to the decision, must all know this but nevertheless feel they must show willing to the Saudis. In truth we are playing to their fantasies and to their member that Fahd himself came to some future point, both the West arms sales. The figures question the throne with a reforming reputa- and the Arab world would suffer. The Americans may trust to their On the other hand it would be | military capacity in the Gulf to set foolish to argue that Saudi Arabia is things right but it may not be so

The problem is that Saudi Arabia who now hold most power, have | needs to reform and is unlikely to royal family — believe that long. Saudi Arabia survives as it is be their differences but seem likely to do so unless there is western presterm stability in Saudi Arabia can cause it pays off its western backers | hold together. The opposition is di- sure. Yet this understanding always vided and less than formidable. The | gives way before the reality of Saudi car bombing of the American mili- money and power and the competitary office in Rivadh in November is | tiveness of western countries who not comparable in seriousness to. are both its patrons and its clients. that might help bring it rarer still, tend. This transaction, therefore, is the occupation of the Grand This is the vicious circle that the because the Saudi ruling clan uses | not so much about arms, bridges, or | Mosque in 1979, or to some of the | case, of Mohammed al-Mas'ari so



could stay down for weeks."

# Britain gives in to blackmail

HERE IS no mystery about the real reason for deporting the Saudi dissident Mohammed al-Mas'arl to Dominica instead of considering his application for asylum. He has not breached any condition for political refugee status. It is not suggested that he is breaking British law or promoting terrorism. No one has cast doubt on his claim to have a well-founded fear of persecution if he returns to Saudi Arabia. He was jailed and tortured for political protest in Saudi Arabia and is continuing to protest in the same vein. Indeed his application for asylum has not been examined at all: it has been refused "without substantive consideration of

The reason why Mr al-Mas'ari is being banished to a Caribbean Elba was set out with total clarity by the Home Office minister Ann Widdecombe in the following terms: "We have close trade relations with a friendly state [ie, Saudi Arabia] which has been the subject of considerable criticism by Mr al-Mas'ari." Are Ms Widdecombe's listeners to recoil in horror? So an applicant for British asylum has criticised this wholly undemocratic, repressive state which has arrested hundreds for their political or religious activities and routinely inflicts cruel and inhuman punishment. How dare hel No. even Ms Widdecombe cannot expect such a response. There is no reason why asylum seekers should refrain from political activity, so long as it is non-violent and is not illegal in Britain. Neither the 1951 UN Convention nor the subsequent UNHCR guidance to states make any such stipulation.

The answer, simply, is that the UK government is scared witless by the prospect of upsetting the Saudis. There was some surprise that Ms Widdecombe should have confirmed this so openly but her only alternative was to keep quiet Deporting Mr al-Mas'ari to a third country is not, as it happens, a breach of international law, though the practice has been expressly opposed by the UNHCR. The host country should consider an application for asylum, and then either accept or rejec it. Instead Britain has refused consideration while finding another country which will not only receive Mr al-Mas'ari's application but has promised in advance to accept it. The result is that Britain looks ludicrous and craven at the same time.

The blatant admission of a political motive behind this decision may strengthen Mr al-Mas'ari's case for appeal or judicial review. The nature of Mr al-Mas'ari's views as an Islamist who advocates Shari'a law is beside the point - and not only because Saudi Arabia is already an Islamic state where the same law is arbitrarily applied. Asylum is not granted only to those whose views we applaud.

There remains the Government's appeal to selfinterest of the narrowest kind. Protection of British jobs would be a more noble cause if it had been pursued elsewhere with equal enthusiasm to prevent the rundown of UK industries. Besides, the linkage of trade and politics - normally opposed by the Government - creates a dangerous precedent. Britain will be seen as more open to blackmail by trading partners who object to political criticism - and there are plenty of them.

# North Korea on the breadline

Koreans are going hungry has not yet greatly moved the rest of the world. It is time it did. Korea remains a far-off country both geographically and only from marginalising the concept of a secure | with the Ulster Unionists' David | est - more patently discomforting. because of its political isolation. But there are job. Once globalisation is accepted, it is difficult to Trimble, all denied but all effective, one might also have thought, to the good practical reasons for helping Pyongyang quite | turn back the globe on which you turn. Cynics can | then Ulster, from being the nettle he | equilibrium and self-esteem of a apart from the moral obligation to save millions | reel out a depressing catalogue of pre-electoral | boldly grasped, will become the | Prime Minister who has for some from malnutrition or worse.

really going on in North Korea - and therefore that | and reduced government spending. However, the | opportunist. It won't be exactly like | A general election in 1996 the dimensions of the present crisis cannot be daunting nature of the problem should not prevent 1974, when another Ulster peace about as likely as a byelection it properly gauged by potential donors - no longer fresh solutions being tried. New Labour's macro- was the casualty of mainland poli- West Devon; that is, entirely inholds. With growing realism, no doubt spurred by economic policy won't be much different from tics. But it will show to Ireland the probable, but always subject to indidesperation, Pyongyang officials have allowed UN John Major's and its headroom will be even more same, as it turns out futile, priorities. Vidual caprice. Mr Major is by no agencies exceptional access to rural areas which | constrained if it signs up for the single European are normally closed. Quantities of data have been | currency. Changing society itself may be beyond | ble the most important things the | Nicholson, whose only future lies in provided and old Pyongyang hands are amazed by the power of one man or one government, but country needs a government to do, re-winning her seat as a Liberal De the speed with which inquiries are now often an merely to alter direction from the self-interested. This will not merely be an administ mocrat. Alongside incorrigible optiswered. The food problem goes far beyond the anti-communitarian cul-de-sac along which the na- tration that can't rely on getting its mism stands righteous self-belief immediate effects of floods. The picture is one of a tion has been bounced against its will would be a measures through Parliament. But the time has come to abandon. country which has been brought to the verge of liberation worth waiting for.

exhaustion over the past few years, and where another bad year could tip it over the edge. Mismanagement has played a part, but a significant factor has been the loss of Chinese and (former) Soviet support for a country whose agriculture depends heavily on inputs of fertiliser and fuel.

Some will argue that the Kim Il-sung dynasty, now continued by his son Kim Jong-il, deserves to collapse. Yet even in Seoul it is realised that this would be a disaster for the whole Korean peninsula and perhaps beyond. The disparity between North and South is too great: the flight of refugees southwards would be overwhelming. Surrounded by three great powers (Russia, China and Japan) the destabilisation of Korea would create new competition and insecurity in East Asia.

Pyongyang's delication of the Kim dynasty over many decades has not only lost friends but consumed vast amounts of scarce resources. There is no doubt that it has warped decision-making and paralysed initiatives among officials who must prove they are loyal before all else. But the mood of adulation has waned. The younger Kim appears to lead a reform-minded stratum in the Workers' Party which favours opening to the outside world against the opposition of army headliners from the old generation.

South Korea has taken the lead, for obvious reasons, in cultivating the image of an unpredictable Pyongyang. Understanding the North is not really so hard, and visitors to both countries notice similarities in their political cultures. Seoul has recently argued that the North's "military threat" is increasing - a view uncritically echoed last week by Michael Portillo. Yet a military adventure seems wholly implausible for this exhausted country.

The World Food Programme has been struggling to secure enough aid. It is a desperate situation. | found it necessary to believe the | while, as the IGC meets and meets Only a handful of countries have answered the ap- | same thing. Harold Macmillan, aban- | again, every rumoured movement peal and Britain is one of many still considering its | doning belief in 1963, left office on a | will be marked in Britain by the response. History should remind us that North | medical pretext which his doctors al | knee-jerk savageries of Tory rivals Korea is not such a distant place.

ONY BLAIR's speech to Singapore businessmen this week marks a milestone in the evolution of New Labour's ideas from a portfolio of and present having dealt them such old Soviet general to lead them policies into a coherent philosophy. Just as in the 1960a Harold Wilson used the prospect of a new society forged in the "white heat" of technology to divert the party faithful from nationalisation, so Mr Blair is trying to infuse the party with a new binding moral imperative to replace the dying embers

The Stakeholder Economy is in one sense sim- straitened times, for optimism. ply a portmanteau word to embrace a large number of individual initiatives - from putting the long-term unemployed back to work to providing portable pensions — but it is also an attempt to good it is mere ritual, for the piteous embarrassment that now dicommunalise Labour's project and to sublimate the economic insecurity which global economic the Government keeps itself alive change, aggravated by Thatcherism, has brought about and to which there may be no instant solu- get worse. The cost of hanging on tion. Where Mrs Thatcher offered a share-owning | will, from every point of view save | election. It is masked by the convendemocracy, Mr Blair offers rich and poor a seduc- that of office-holding panjandrums, tive stake in education, welfare, information tech- be a heavy tax on the national nology, and corporate governance. All the ideas have powerful antecedents, but gathering them under one all-embracing concept is more than a mere political necessity. If there is one Old Labour virtue that unashamedly shines through, it is process may not be entirely due to media operate, that the Prime

equality of opportunity. New Labour needs a moral imperative because | the Ulster Unionists. Major has his | fully entitled to remain in office for there is no magic wand which a fiscally cautious own stubborn revulsion from letting the duration. I don't think there's HE NEWS that more than 20 million North | Blair government can wave. It will probably inherit | the IRA dictate terms. But if his ex- | been a time when that claim was the best macro-economic framework of any Labour | tended life this year depends, as it | more obviously flawed, more thoradministration, but that won't stop the global econ- will, on sibylline understandings oughly inimical to the national interpanaceas which never fulfilled their promise, in- body disposed of by a dose of hem- time been considering his place in The excuse that too little is known about what is | cluding nationalisation, privatisation, monetarism | lock, the last sacrifice of a desperate | history.

# Major gambles with his place in history

PTIMISM is the professional deformity of the governing politician, just as scepticism is that of the journalist. Our views on whether the glass is half-empty or half-full are predictable. In this ap- member of the European Union will portionment of attitude, moreover, I thank God for the optimists even while doing what I can to contest their certainties and demolish their the hands of a cabinet that is forced reassurance. Ministers are necessary beings, and could not do their a role which ranges between the job unless they rode over every | negative and the destructive. With gloomy prediction, of which there | the Tory left at last beginning to were thousands, about the unpopularity of privatisation, and every ob- invertebrate. Major knows that he jection, including mine, to the next round of tax cuts at the expense of a the Intergovernmental Conference decent education system. Pes- to be played by Mr Portillo. The consimism ices politics into paralysis.

the Prime Minister, any prime minis | a credible leader to the table. So ter. John Major, who believes that | delay in Europe, like delay in Ireland his predicament can only abate, is in | is to be the salient gift bequeathed in a job where every predecessor has these extended death-throes. Mean most immediately discounted. He who are competing to possess the had had enough. James Callaghan, clinging to it in 1978, convinced himself that the wicket was bound to improve, and then presided over the election that closed the innings for British socialism.

So it is today. Examining their po- orable decline. You can hear them sition, ministers believe it has already. See, on the horizon, the renowhere to go but up. They think | vival of old Communists in Russia time must be on their side. The past | and the possible appearance of an unmerited rejection, the future can | against Boris Yeltsin, and what is only bring the people to their the response of our present-day senses. Thirty per cent adrift of statesmen? To jack up the tired old Labour, Mr Major thinks he owes it line that Tony Blair, as a former to country and party to await the re- member of CND, must never be covery that beckons. And convention supports what passes, in these

On this occasion, however, con- in the wind, Dr Mawhinney lamely vention is almost certainly wrong. Optimism is fantasy. For the party's country's self-deceiving calamity. If lutes the ridicule and hatred they through 1996, things can in fact only

things the Government has done. | ficiarles and encouraged by the re-The stultifying of the Irish peace straints of caution under which the concessions London is making to | Minister is not only empowered but

Since so much of what it proposes | with the shreds of grace, both.

was conceived in panic and produced in defiance of most evidence and all relevant expertise, that will be small loss.

But Europe asks the great national question of the moment, which the Major government is incapable of answering. As this year unfolds, every be engaged in the slow, delicate bus ness of negotiating Europe's future shape. For Britain the task will be in by its irreconcilable divisions, to play show that it is not, after all, clinically can't allow Britain's hidden hand at tinentals will have no choice but to The most necessary optimist is | delay conclusions until Britain sends

> there will need to be further debasements of politics, further posturings to try to repel inex-There will be plenty more of this plenty more of Mr Heseltine spitting announcing another re-launch, all o evoke among most who watch them.

O SHORE up this existence,

year, unless it is interrupted by an tional pretence that just a few more weeks or months are needed to turn the wheel of fortune round. The It will, first, set at risk some good | myth persists, nurtured by its bene-

Clinging on also makes impossi- means as loose a cannon as Emma

# France's poisoned Pacific paradise Tahitians face a paradox as: France prepares for its last

Moruroa blast: they want tests to end but not the cash hand-outs from Paris, writes Andrew Higgins

ORT pour La France: tests, President Jacques Chirac congentle slope, carrying epitaphs of empire towards an abrupt, chaotic frontier of bougainvillaea and wild fringes of Faaa, a raucous jumble of | the French military camp not far slum, suburb and beach resort near Tahiti's international airport, the Cimetière de l'Uranie struggles to

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vants of France's most far-flung colonial adventure stands a more soling epitaph, only bare names Iris Drollet lays bunches of flamered Tahiti ginger flowers - and mutters curses at Marlon Brando: "He came here with all his money and destroyed everything. Tahiti it is just a new generation," says him, c'est fini. He doesn't set foot here any more."

or why they died. No "mort pour La | deploys against Brando.

pened — a single fatal bullet through his left cheek in 1990 -Swayed by the elaborate arguments of celebrity lawyer Robert Shapiro (later of O J fame) it sentenced Brando's son, Christian, to only 10 years for accidental manslaughter.

How Chevenne came to be enstraightforward. She hanged herself last April with a telephone cord just a few miles down the coast. But it is not only Brando's Tahiti

dream that has turned sour. With a neat symbolism a script-writer might admire, Cheyenne's broken neck betokened a larger crisis of identity reaching far beyond the personal tragedy of a bloated Hollywood ego run amok.

self succumbed to a spasm of self- | She climbed on to the deck, untied destructive rage, which began in her sarong and stood stark naked protest at France's resumption of under the delirious gaze of the paradise ought to look like. Aghast nuclear tests in the South Pacific. crew. Now Tahiti, part of the French overseas territory of French Polynesia, faces a new trauma; the end of the



carry out one more Pacific test in its series of six before the end of February. What, Tahitians wonder, does their post-nuclear future hold?

"Danger de Mort," warns a sign attached to the chain-link fence of from the cemetery. A translation gives the same message in Tahitian.

Apart from the tropical foliage, the main road, built to ferry tourists Amid exuberant tributes to ser- to and from the nearby airport, could be the shopping street of a slightly rough neighbourhood just about anywhere in France. But turn down a dirt track, and France and metal shelters, battered thatched huts and fetid beer halls clogged with jobless Polynesian youths.

"The young people worry me. They are not the same. They are aggressive, not like before. Perhaps The mayor and master of Fasa is

Oscar Temaru, a soft-spoken former The grave is inscribed with the seminary student at the head of an names of her nephew. Dag Drollet, | anything but soft-spoken indepenand his lover. Cheyenne Brando. | dence movement. He curses France There is no attempt to explain how | with as much bile as Iris Drollet

They destroyed our country. In the case of Dag, the task of try- This used to be an unpolluted par- sticker, looks out to sea from a ing to make any sense of what hap- | adise. Now it is known around the | palm-fringed waterfront of Papeete, world as a polluted place," he says. the capital of French Polynesia. "Who polluted it? The French govwhether they are socialist or as a full colony. After a century of rightwing. They are all the same. They are all guilty."

> ity are clearly visible from his mayoral office window. Behind a wire fence runs the runway of Tahiti's pension. airport, the starting point for last September's riots but now back in service as a staging post for a faltering tourist industry and a booming nuclear archipelago of military and research installations across French

It is all a long way from the sunny scene that greeted the first French- deception and dislocation men to visit Tahiti in 1768. As their that came with it. When MGM ship neared the coast after six moved here in 1961 to film its re- testing itself: thick layers of con-Four months after Brando's months at sea, a topless Polynesian girl paddled alongside in a canoe.

"I thought I was transported into the Garden of Eden," recorded the | lorries to transport white sand from vessel's captain, Louis Antoine de across the island. Confronted with

In that moment stirred a steamy sand cruise ships; bewitch artists, actors and poets, and, in a final million. the poison of 190 French nuclear

More than 11,000 miles from Paris, Tahiti became a guilt-free zone, a distant playground bound by no taboo. Paul Gauguin, stockbroker 14-year-old lover; Marlon Brando and the rest of an MGM film crew . The biggest shock, though, was could indulge themselves with a felt in Tahiti, the largest of 130 gusto rare even in Hollywood; and islands and stolls scattered across a Jacques Chirac could ignore the | French-ruled expanse of ocean big- | of the mission she must accomplish censure of the world to assert

France's nuclear virility. De Bougainville, honoured by the | had a choice," says Stanley Cross, | and a close friend of Jacques Chirac. | expensive little dancers."



tasy. But when it turned bad he evangelical church. More than half No Eden . . . A protester pictured against the flames during last wanted nothing to do with it. For the population is under the age of 20. September's anti-nuclear protests in Tahiti

French high commissioner on la disfigured by an anti-nuclear

But there was little romance in the way France first secured Tahiti imperial sparring across the South Pacific with Britain, it bribed But the stark limits of his author- Tahiti's drunken king, Pomare V. In 1880, he signed away his kingdom in return for a 5,000 franc-a-month

"From the start we have been bought like cheap hookers." says Nelson Ortas, the fiery Americaneducated lieutenant of Oscar

never money itself but the make of Mutiny On The Bounty it spent vast amounts of money to blur reality so as to make Tahiti fit or "place of the big secret" in local Hollywood's own vision of what to find black sand on a beach chosen for shooting, producers hired the rotting, stained teeth of the film's Tahitian extras, MGM ortures. In all, it spent more than \$20

tractors poured in with even more | tobacco and alcohol. cash to establish the Centre d'Expérimentation du Pacifique (CEP). over the less truculent patches of agency. The first atom bomb was | clear bombs exploding at Moruroa. exploded in 1966, 750 miles south- Parls now pumps in nearly £1 billion Morurda atoll.

ger than western Europe. "When de in her overseas territories," intones

eponymous tropical flower, is today | lawyer and chairman of Tahiti's remembered in official history as | Human Rights League. "They could Tahiti's heroic founding father. His | either use arms or they could buy portrait hangs in the office of the | us off. They chose the latter. For 30 vears we had everything we rue du General de Gaulle; his bust, needed, billions and billions of Soldiers, civil servants and for-

tune-hunters stampeded in from Paris. Expatriate salaries were high and taxes all but non-existent. A tiny French population ballooned to more than 20,000. At the same time, from remote islands across the South Pacific, many ending up in

Again, problems were rarely solved, only masked. The transfer of France's nuclear tests to the South Pacific from the less docile French territory of Algeria meant another bonanza for false teeth merchants. Like MGM, foreign legionnaires gave them to their dentally-disad-UT THE real problem was | vantaged girlfriends — and demanded them back when they left.

Much the same methods were employed to conceal the scars of crete and asphalt now smother contaminated coral on Moruroa -

The biggest secret was never the tests, but their consequences. Greenpeace has documented dozens of cases of illness. Fifty-six former testalleging a French colonial cover-up. nuclear activists have never entirely | marginal." disproved French claims that an ln-

To keep the French flag flying placed fishing as the main inclusivy: around 40 per cent of the workforce | funds for a further 10 years. draws a state salary.

"France has a special conception"

"When Anglo-Saxons discover that something does not work any longer or becomes too much of a burden, you say: sort it out your-selves, we have other, much more important problems at home. France is not the same. It says if you need us, you are citizens just like us, we are ready to accompany you until you ask us to leave."

The heart of the matter, though, is entirely Anglo-Saxon in its crude utilitarianism. And no one knows more about this side of France's "special conception" than Mr Flosse, the son of a French settler and Tahitian mother.

"We have had lots of luck," he says, sitting in an office filled with photographs of Mr Chirac and Charles de Gaulle. "First we had the Bounty. That brought in lots of money. Then we had the CEP. This also brought in money. The question now is where will the money come from once the testing stops?'

His home, a hilltop mansion, looks out across a manicured lawn shaded by a gigantic French flag towards a luxury beach hotel owned by one of his sons. Other family assets include a 19th century hotel in Paris's 16th arrondissement and properties in North America.

OW DOES a former teacher who has spent his entire cawho has spent his entire career in public service amass such wealth? "I am 64 years old," says Mr Flosse, "I have worked very hard. My wife and children all work. They have all worked very hard. I don't say I'm noor but, enfin. if I have succeeded it is because of my hard work and nothing else."

He has been investigated — and cleared — 12 times for corruption. Two new cases are still pending. All accusations of corruption are referred to Paris for investigation, Altogether about 50 local politicians are under investigation for graft of one sort or another. "This may be a part of France but it sometimes operates a lot like Africa," says the state prosecutor, Jean-Pierre Dreno

The guid pro quo in all this is simple. In return for a steady flow of cash from Paris, Mr Flosse - and each of his predecessors -- has given France a free hand to detonate nuclear devices.

"The one thing that is clear is that the tests are not dangerous, either for the environment or the population. You can see how we live in Pa-

peete." Mr Flosse says loyally. But how do they live just down the road in Faaa? The problem is not simply poverty. There are many poorer places in the South Pacific France has provided hospitals and schools far superior to anything found elsewhere in the region.

The problem is more that many people "don't know who or where site workers recently signed a letter | they are any more," says Mr Dreno. "They have no work . . . they speak But denied access to full medical | Tahitlan badly and also speak fantasy that would launch a thou- dered 5,000 pairs of temporary den- records and Moruroa itself, anti- French badly. They are completely

Tahiti seems as confused about spasm of anything-goes abandon, No sooner had MGM left than crease in cancer cases is the result of its identity and future as Cheyenne impregnate the South Pacific with | French scientists, soldiers and con- | an increase in the consumption of | Brando. It too is trapped in a power relationship cash alone cannot fix.

With only one test still to go and France now committed to a compre-France's nuclear weapons testing | French Polynesia and French nu- | hensive ban on nuclear testing later this year, the money-for-favours contract that has both enriched and turned painter; 'could take a east of Tahiti on a barge moored at a year. Government long ago re tormented Tahiti will soon expire. Mr Flosse says Parls has promised

But how long will France really want to bankroll a paradise lost it no longer needs? For as ex-president Valery Giscard d'Estaing once mut-Gaulle started testing, the French | Gaston Flosse, regional president | tered contemptuously: "These are



# Educated guesses are wide of mark

is a fine Ideal but will not in itself generate growth, argues Will Hutton

educated the workforce, the society. Although such protesta-tions are self-evident and a welltrained workforce is a necessary condition for growth, it is not sufficient. So what else has to be done?

Education and training is one area of policy where the Labour leader talks - as he did in Tokyo last week and in Singapore on Monday - confidently and crusadingly.

capital moving across national borforce to empower itself is to offer long-run employment-boosting imever more creativity and productiv- pact is nil. Employers' national inity - and that means more educa- surance contributions are an tion and training. Britain, he excellent way of raising revenue and declared, had to be the knowledge capital of Europe.

Even if there were few economic ad- | pletely wrong in this area as in so vantages, education and training are many, shrivelling the tax base for no public goods, and Britain has for too long not given them priority. But there is a danger that by so elevating education and training's eco- ally. In the above-mentioned Oxford nomic importance they are given Review, Lars Calmfors and Per the status of a growth theory in Skedinger analyse the impact of their own right.

education and training, but recent | job creation achemes in lowering research is sobering about how unemployment the results were much they can achieve by them- "very unstable". Sometimes training selves. The necessary expenditure | worked but sometimes it increased to close income inequality, raise skill unemployment by raising wage exlevels and lower unemployment is pectations above what employers vast but the pay-offs are slow.

Even quality education cannot quence of external shocks like an | Bluestone of the University of Massayen overvaluation have rendered a Winter 1995) that most US training generation of high-quality Japanese education powerless.

Nobody argues that growing unemployment and rising income inequality are not caused by low skills; the issue is by how much. The consensus is that educational and train- the problem. US estimates on how ing shortfalls explain about 20 per cent of the problem.

A better trained workforce | ell and Brian Bell (Oxford Review of Economic Policy, Vol 11, No 1) found that in Britain the decline in real demand for unskilled workers contributed up to 20 per cent of the long-run increase in unemployment. So the other 80 per cent of the story HE BETTER trained and needs to be addressed as well.

International studies show that job creation schemes have little or no long-run effect - largely because any new jobs tend to displace old ones. And reducing social overheads, which ministers endlessly intone as the sole means to lower unemployment, have little or no im-

This conforms with what elementary economic theory would predict.

If employers are relieved of paying social security contributions, in the In a world in which barriers to long run they pay workers that part of the real product wage that used to go in social security contributions as extra wages. In other words, the lowering real wages with no longrun unemployment effects - and This is a noble and just cause. government policy has been comlong-run employment gains.

Training, at least, offers more certain returns - but only margin-Sweden's training programmes, and There is no disputing the value of | find that while they do better than

The assessment from the US is equally sobering. Professor Barry chusetta renorts (American Prospect. schemes launched since the 1960s have shown dublous returns, and employment are small.

As for using education to solve much potential spending is involved are mind-boggling. James Heckman Richard Freeman and Larry Katz of the University of Chicago says say in one American study (Work- that to improve the educational ing Under Different Rules, Russell | attainment of the bottom half of the Sage, 1994) that between 7 and 25 US population to take income inper cent of rising inequality is due to | equality back to 1979 levels would



The larger point is that the indus- | crucial determinant of productivity is trialised world is suffering from a loot skills but managerial capacity multitude of shocks to which educa- and strategy. Well-organised, longtion and training can only offer a partial response. In the US, Freeman and Katz identify de-industrialisation, de-unionisation, low-cost competition, immigration and the US trade deficit as explaining the other advantages in higher earnings and 80 per cent of unemployment and in- he has since he became leader, talkequality. Prof Bluestone responds by | ing of building a stakeholder econsaying that stronger trade unions. redistributive taxation and active trade and industrial policies are part | could generate more trust, long-terof a balanced policy response along | mism between managers and workwith education and training.

termist firms are the keys to economic success; not training in itself. The good news is that Mr Blair is beginning to recognise this. In his Singapore speech he touched on the

omy where companies with reformed managerial structures ers. The beginnings of a rounded In any case there remain big ques- approach are discernible if Labour is tions about what skills should be to succeed in government,—but it offered in any training programme. Will mean a tougher line on the City In a survey of nine countries Mckin- and corporate governance than New sey, Global Institute found that the Labour has so far seemed ready for.

question with more conviction than

Storling rates Sterling rates
December 11 January 8 15,57-16.59 45,60-45.60 2.1154-2.1184

It is understood that some memhad failed to defend the market's reputation and had communicated ineptly the changes he wanted to make with its 350 member firms.....

Mr Lawrence, aged 52, former

8.57-8.59

2.2142-2.2172 2.2316-2.2347. 11.80-11.87 11.98-11.99 0.9658-0.9894 0.9675-0.9700 2,442-2,448 2,445-2,449 154.89-156.15 163,01-163.59 2.4779-2.4812 2.4992-2.6024 2.3708-2.3749 2.3497-23536 9.77-9.79 232,50-233.13 231.50-232.13 Portugal 188.60-188.68 10.28-10.28 10.84-10.38 1,7921-1,7949 1,8026-1,6053 1.5502-1.5512 1.5336-1.5346

A T&T, the American telecoms group, will lose 40,000 jobs and \$6 billion as it splits into three companies this year.

in Brief

GUARDIAN WEDLY

January 14 1998

RANADA lifted its bitterly fought bid for Forte, the hotel and restaurant company, to \$5.9 billion, up \$750 million from the television and restaurant group's original bid.

HE UK Government signalled its determination to push ahead with rail privatisation by announcing that shares in Railtrack, the track operator, will be sold worldwide.

IRBUS Industrie, the British, German, French and Spanish maker of commercial jets, was beaten to a second big East Asia order in three months by Boeing. Malaysia's national airline followed Singapore's in ordering only Boeing jets. Its \$4 billion order came as British Airways confirmed it wants to develop super jumbos with Boeing. Last year Airbus saw its orders drop 15 per cent to 106 aircraft.

RANCE'S youngest newspaper, InfoMatin, closed after losing Fr170 million (835 million) in two years.

■ APANESE banks look like selling their debt in the cashstrapped Channel tunnel operator, up to 25 per cent of Eurotunnel's \$12.27 billion borrowings because of the financial squeeze within their domestic market.

HE chairman of Renault Louis Schweitzer, was placed under investigation in connection with a phone-tapping scandal.

ENERAL Motors said it could take away work from Britain after Vauxiall workers rejected a three-year pay deal,

HE jury in the Maxwell fraud trial was considering its verdict on Tuesday. Two sons of the late tycoon are accused of defrauding company pension funds.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

2.0808-2.0851 | 2.0752-2.0794 15.69-16.71 45.85-46.95 1.2045-1.2058 1.2046-1.2059 FTSE100 Shere Index up 65.5 at 3720.6. FTSE 250 Index up 143.2 at 4080.1. Gold up \$6.50 at \$506.50.

The Washington Post

Helpless . . . Footage captured by a British TV crew last year

ORMER orphanage director | forts to impose a one-child policy,

Han said: "There are some few parents are willing to part with

Foreigners and Chinese people

who have visited Chinese ornhan-

ages have said that certain wards

are closed off, allegedly because the

children in those wards are sick.

Many suspect those rooms are

closed to conceal evidence of abu-

Some Chinese officials who have

visited orphanages acknowledge

that conditions are often inadequate.

Funding and staff training are often

insufficient, especially in rural areas,

some officials say. But they add that

country where about 80 million peo-

ple live in abject poverty and where

child mortality rates run as high as

70 out of 1,000 in some rural areas.

Moreover, the children given up

by Chinese parents are usually sick

or disabled. Because of China's ef-

healthy children. Foreign experts

some way. Most of the healthy chil-

of those institutions are poorly

and inclinations.

included shots of children tied in chairs

oud period, from November 1991

through October 1992, the report

says that 207 children died. Over 80

The State Council denied the re-

port's charges. It did not give figures

dents and 166 were released, includ-

Countering an image of medical

congenital heart defects, clubfoot

problems that aren't curable.

and other diseases.

sion, the report says.

# China Accused of Abusing Orphans

Chinese children are dying from starvation in state orphanages, says a human rights monitoring group. Steven Mufson reports from Beljing

HOUSANDS of Chinese children are dying from medical neglect and starvation in staterun orphanages, according to a report by Human Rights Watch/Asia, a U.S.-based monitoring group.

The 331-page report charges that a majority of children admitted to a Shanghai orphanage in the late 1980s and early 1990s died within a year and that the high death rate is typical of China's orphanages. The report alleges that Shanghai orphanage officials carried out a policy known as "summary resolution" that singled out children for death by starvation to keep the orphanage population stable. To cover up those brain," the report says.

ing human rights monitors in China Chinese government policy.

ports about conditions there. Ai mierships. Ming, a disabled orphan who grew who left China last year, provided

attempt to influence public opinion | starve to death. and swindle the masses" motivated The report adds that Zhang per- You should understand that I'm in- estimate that 80 percent of Chinese by "hostility towards the Chinese

the weekend. when Zhang worked there and who mation of brain." Zhang accused in the report of sexders" and "insults."

report is the fourth major account of abuse and death of children at Chinese orphanages. In 1993, the South China Morning Post published pho-tos and an account of "dying rooms" at an orphanage in Nanning in Guangxi Province. Staff members told the Hong Kong newspaper that 90 percent of the baby girls who arrived at the orphanage died there.

Last year, a British documentary television crew obtained footage of orphanages they did not identify by posing as American charity fundraisers. The crew broadcast pictures of infants suffering extreme malnutrition and of children tied down in chairs, soaked in their own

An article last fall in the German magazine Der Spiegel based on an eyewitness account described similar conditions in a Harbin orphanage that the magazine called part of

tices. It also describes the struggle problems. Disabled children are

formed medical checkups on the nocent, and some deaths I'm not re- orphanage residents are disabled in But the Human Rights Watch re- dren in the orphanages tend to be port says that many deaths were atarrive at the orphanage, the mortal- examined Sun on June 7, 1989, one | tributed to diseases or conditions | males in China's tradition. ity rate at the Shanghai Children's day after the child was admitted. that should be easily treatable. In Only a small fraction of China's Bildt, a former Swedish prime min-Welfare Institute was down to Zhang said that Sun appeared dehy- the 1988-89 period, the leading orphans live in the country's ister who is in charge of implement-"around 4 percent." The Chinese drated, perhaps from a bout of diargovernment invited foreign journal rhea, but otherwise in reasonable ital maldevelopment of brain." In dren's welfare institutes. Far more deal, said at a news conference that ists to visit the Shanghai facility at | condition. A month later, the baby | the 1991-92 period, it was "malnutri- live in the approximately 1,100 wel- | his office has less than half the was emaciated. On the third exam | tion." Other causes of death cited in- | fare institutions that also serve the In an interview, Wang Jianqun, di- on August 12, the baby was so hun- cluded "mental deficiency" and elderly and mentally disabled. Most cerebral palsy.

Zhang said that the orphanage staffed or ill-equipped to deal with staff frequently gave children sleep physical and emotional needs of who ran the Shanghai orphanage ical record was "congenital malfor- ing pills, especially when the chil- young orphans. Altogether, welfare dren were suffering from hunger. The report cites medical records | She said that one child overdosed | 20,000 of the 100,000 orphans China Children who complained about "missing" but international experts

havior were falsely diagnosed as mal settings arranged by local offi-



NTATO forces increased their patrols in the southwestern city of Mostar at the weekend after a Croat policeman was killed by gunfire in the latest in a series of violent incidents between Croats and Muslims

Local police said the fatal shots were fired from the Muslim-controlled eastern side of the ethnically divided city. The policeman was shot three times in the abdomen and legs and died from his wounds at a hospital, European Union police spokesman Howard Fox told news

Meanwhile, near Sanski Most, in northwestern Bosnia, British soldiers with the NATO mission fired 62 rounds from automatic weapons after snipers shot at their bunker 20 times in five minutes. Because the shots came from a bunker on the confrontation line midway between Bosnian Serb and government forces it was not yet possible to tell who was to blame, British spokesman Col. David Shaw said.

The violence came on the same day that another problem for NATO's efforts to enforce the peace pact resurfaced - on the Serb side.

Radovan Karadzie, political leader of the Bosnian Serbs, emerged for the first time in several weeks. Under the peace accord reached in Dayton in November, Karadzie is required to step down from his post because he was indicted on warcrime charges by the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

In a message to his people on the Orthodox Christmas Eve. Karadzie was defiant and appeared unwilling to bow to the pact's requirement. His continued hold on power poses a problem for the NATO-led operation. If officers from the NATO mission see him or other indicted war criminals, they are obliged to make arorphans compete for resources in a rests unless doing so would put them in danger, NATO officials have said.

The Bosnian Serb leader's enduring influence is also embarrassing to the United States, which is deploying 20,000 troops as part of the NATO mission. On November 15, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said it was "inconceivable" that Karadzic and Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serb military leader who is also wanted by the war crimes tribunal, would be in positions of authority when a peace deal was reached.

In another illustration of the problems facing the peace plan, Carl money it needs to begin work in Boania. NATO officers had questioned why Bildt did not arrive in Bosnia and begin work sooner.

On Saturday last week he said he had obtained the money for his opinstitutions of all sorts hold about eration only three days ago from "a bank in Brussels, and I brought it says it has. The report calls the rest down here in a bag."

Asked how he was going to raise more money for his operation in the face of such bureaucracy, he joked: "I am going back to Brussels to break into the bank yault again."

-

# Sacking threatens Stock Exchange's future

Lisa Buckingham

last week after the Stock Exchange sacked its chief executive, Michael | bringing practice more into line with

City, even though major stockbrokers | dreds of millions of pounds in recent | had been mounting a fierce rear. years developing computer systems Lawrence was trying to introduce. .. don stock market's specialised way. They had accused him of trying to move too guickly and ignoring their.

The announcement stunned the City's big battalions have spent hun-

The latest debacle comes at a time when the City's main institu- | egy, supported by its major users, its tions are under increasing pressure. Modernisation of the Stock Ex- Lloyd's of London, one of three pil- stock market behind New York and change is seen as crucial if London lars of the Square Mile, is currently is to maintain its international, role in a battle for its survival. The sec. | The Stock Exchange chairman, golden handshake of about £350,000.

and draw business from big finance | ond pillar, the Stock Exchange, now | that any one incident had triggered | houses around the world. Mr faces turmoil with its leadership in the showdown and stressed there ONDON'S future as a world fi- Lawrence had been pursuing a strat- Europe potentially threatened, Only was no question of impropriety. L nancial centre was threatened egy of altering the way in which the third pillar, the Bank of England, shares are transacted in London, stands reasonably secure, and it felt bers of the board regarded Mr it necessary to move in an executive | Lawrence as a "loose cannon" who other, financial markets. But the director of the Bank as a second

deputy chairman to the Exchange. Recent changes to rules governing share trading across Europe have. guard action against innovations Mr | and training staff to work in the Lon- | given a boost to rivals of the London exchange. There is deep concern position as the world's third-largest

Tokyo will be threatened.

John Kemp-Welch, said a board meeting decided overwhelming that Austria Mr Lawrence should go. He denied

. Mr Laurence's departure comes

less than three years after his prede- soen that if London lacks a coherent strat- cessor resigned, after a paperless share dealing system was aborted., finance director of insurance company Prudential, stands to collect a

In each case, the Chinese government denounced the reports. The Human Rights Watch report cases, orphanage staff falsified med- | gives an unusual amount of detail ical records to blame the deaths on | and quotes Chinese insiders on the "congenital malformation of the record criticizing government prac-The New York-based Human by those insiders to change condi-Rights Watch describes itself as an | tions. Lawyers and officials from the independent watchdog group that | Civil Affairs Ministry, the city govwas established in 1978 to monitor | ernment and the Shanghai General | and promote human rights around | Labor Union all investigated. Human the world. It is supported by private | Rights Watch reprints a report by contributions and accepts no gov- lawyers for the Labor Union that said ernment funds. It is one of the lead- | the welfare institute "has serious | and has been a vigorous critic of | being abused and the number of chil- | percent died within a year of admis-

dren dying has increased each year." The report relies heavily on mate- In the end, their efforts had little rial from Zhang Shuyun, a 53-year- | effect. The director, Han, has been | old graduate of Beijing University of promoted. Zhang was criticized by for that period, but it said that the Medical Science who worked in the her superiors. The report also al- Shanghai orphanage had 402 resi-Shanghai Children's Welfare Insti- leges that the then-mayor of Shang- | dents in 1994 and released 183 for tute from 1988 to 1993. Zhang left | hai, Wu Bangguo, took part in an | adoption, family reunion, employ-China last year with a large number | effort to cover up conditions at the | ment in the community or transfer to | of orphanage documents, medical orphanage. Wu has since been pro- other institutions. The government records and internal government re- moted to one of China's vice pre- said that in 1995, there were 512 resi-

Zhang, who has been supporting | ing 139 who were adopted. up in the Shanghai orphanage and | herself in the United States by giving Chinese lessons, said in an Inter- neglect, the government said that supporting testimony and ghastly view last week from England that 87 children were operated on for photographs he took of dying chil- when she arrived at the Shanghai Children's Welfare Institute she no-The Chinese State Council's in- | ticed that the children there were formation department responded "sacks of bones" and often tied to angrily to the report, calling it "an | their beds. She said she saw several

people." The State Council office | children only once a month, She | said that even though many of the | cited as an example the case of a 1children are seriously ill when they | year-old girl named Sun Zhu. Zhang | rector of the Shanghai Children's gry that she tried to chew Zhang's Welfare Institute, called the report | hand. She died later that day. The "completely false." Han Weicheng, cause of death entered in the med-

ually abusing children and ordering Zhang took as showing that 153 on the pills. the falsification of medical records, | children died at the orphanage in a said in a separate interview that 13-month period beginning Decem- abuses or were accused of misbe- say that other orphans stay in infor-Zhang's accusations were "slan- ber 1988, shortly after her arrival. Most were less than 2 months old at | "mentally ill" and transferred to psy- | cials depending on local resources The Human Rights Watch/Asia | the time of admission. During a sec | chlatric hospitals.

**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** 

January 14 1998

Lee Hockstader in St. Petersburg

TATHEN Russia elected a parliaward anti-Western Communists and least until January 26, the longest nationalists in December, progressives across the country threw up | down in the nation's history. their hands and despaired.

stood squarely for continued politi- ment that his plan be certified by enough to revamp Medicare and cal and economic reform — and the Congressional Budget Office | Medicaid, welfare and other social who were soundly defeated. If they (CBO) to eliminate the deficit by programs. Clinton and the congreshad always seen themselves as dis- 2002. tinct from the rest of Russia - and a little above it — now it seemed they were living almost on a different and protect Medicare, Medicaid, continued late into the night.

"Secedel That's the slogan of the provide tax relief to working famiday," proclaimed Alexander Kan, a lies," Clinton told reporters. "This is years by \$87 billion, provide savings jazz critic and journalist here who a time of great national promise. We of \$102 billion from Medicare and writes a column for the Moscow Times. "We need to encase ourselves within an artificial border,

vast country to the south and east." but one that accurately caught the | ducing a balanced budget by 2002, | began when the GOP took control post-election mood of the Russian intelligentsia - the Western-lean- mand, made repeatedly over the budget in January continued deficit ing, reform-minded elite that over past year, for such a proposal. the years has set itself against czars and Communist Party secretaries alike and embodied the conscience of the nation.

The results of the December 17 parliamentary elections showed a Russian electorate sharply divided between haves and have-nots, between the two biggest cities and the rest of the country — and most of Paranoia all, between the intelligentsia and everyone else.

No part of Russian society had a greater emotional stake in the col- Jim Hoagland lapse of Soviet power and the embrace of liberal values than the intelligentsia. When the Communist regime folded in 1991, liberals rejoiced. For a brief moment, the intelligentsia felt something like unity with the coal miners, factory workers and urban office workers who were rallying in the streets for Boris Yeltsin and faster reforms.

The union proved short-lived. In parliamentary elections in 1993. most liberals stuck with Yegor Gaidar, the young economist who lasted less than a year as Yeltsin's first prime minister in 1992. But milllons of factory workers and farmers, squeezed by Russia's economic crisis and angry at the upheaval all around them, voted for the ultra- slabs of the mind's morgue: nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovsky.

Among liberals who had been cheerleaders for the reforms of Yeltsin and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the disillusionment and disgust were intense. There was a strong sense that, having lost its enemy - a powerful, totalitarian warding challenge. (Bear with government — the intelligentsia | me, doctor. This is a truth that had slipped in status and influence. does not come out of the Russian voters were disdained as an inkilots of facts.) In part that uncouth mob. "

Amid the growing alarm, the that it is not seeing and hearing intelligentsia are running out of po- what it is seeing and hearing. litical options. Gaidar clearly is not a viable candidate for the presidential elections in June.

Economist Grigory Yavlinsky is seen as an acceptable if opportunis Revisionism requires you to tic alternative, but his Yabloko party speak only of balancing the budgarnered just 7 percent of the parlla- get for future generations even mentary vote; and he is given little though your real aim is to cut chance in presidential elections.

# Clinton Submits 7-Year Budget Plan

**Ann Devroy** 

seven-year balanced budget pro- on such issues as Medicaid and posal and then signed legislation to | Medicare and no assurance that the fully reopen the government with- two sides can agree on a seven-year out constraints. The action ends, at plan to balance the federal budget. and most disruptive federal shut-

education and the environment, and need to find unity and common

over seven years than they would.

ted a budget that Republicans say | balance the budget and used eco- | reopen the government and fund Republican proposal and Clinton's

House Budget Committee Chairman John R. Kasich, R-Ohlo, and Senate Budget Committee Chair-Clinton's proposal is a modifica- man Pete V. Domenici, R-N.M., at sional leaders resumed a discussion This plan will show that you can of their differences after the new

Administration officials said the \$52 billion from Medicald plus an additional \$295 billion from other do-

spending into the new century. His | programs. Even though Clinton has submit- second proposal took 10 years to But in addition to measures to

can form the basis for negotiations, nomic analyses the GOP rejected as programs piecemeal, Congress also RESIDENT CLINTON last there are serious philosophical and too optimistic, allowing him to passed legislation before it admonetary differences between the spend more and still show a balanced budget on paper. Other budused Office of Management and Budget numbers that the GOP re-

White House officials maintained Concentrated in Moscow and St. Petersburg, they had voted overwhelmingly for candidates who said meets the Republican require
Concentrated in Moscow and St. Petersburg, they had voted overwhelmingly for candidates who said meets the Republican require
Linear Fete V. Domenici, Review, at the White House for budget talks, sharply criticized elements of the plan, complaining it does not do there, Said one official, "We always the results of the plan, complaining it does not do the plan that White House of the plan, complaining it does not do the plan that White House of the plan, complaining it does not do the plan that White House of the plan, complaining it does not do the plan that White House of the plan tha Clinton did not cave in on the poli- and agencies will operate with lower cies within the budget, simply on rates of funding than in 1995. said we could live with their stated goal of balancing the budget, but not with their hidden goal of destroying the government

But Republicans did get Clinton, again, to do something he said he never would -- provide a balanced budget in seven years. The good news is that at least

we're going to have a document on uate, Kasich told reporters. The announcement on Saturday

and pursue liberal democratic re- proposals this year and said it of those in the Republican proposal. the last-minute legislation passed by weather damage, may take a day or The submission by Clinton is the | Congress the day before to end the | two to resume normal services, the next step on a long, tortuous jour- shutdown that began on December National Park Service said. It was an extreme view, maybe, But the CBO did certify it as pro- ney toward Republican goals that 16 and restore back pay to 760,000 federal workers. The measure, howremoving the final Republican de of Congress. The president's first ever, only provided funding for about two dozen politically sensitive

get proposals since showed a until January 26 if Clinton submitted seven-year balanced budget, and a an acceptable balanced budget plan revised seven-year budget, but all His subsequent action satisfied that The government now goes back to work on a more or less normal

footing, although many department The new Clinton budget proposal s similar to the original Senate De mocratic version, with one major ex-

ception. It provides for \$87 billion in tax cuts over seven years, where the original version did not. Parts of the government had begun opening last weekend after

Clinton signed legislation to partially open the government. The national monuments, including the Statue of Liberty, and museums along the the table" that Republicans can eval- Mall were among the first parts of the government to open. Large na-Republicans called it the "most mestic programs. The discretionary last week appeared to remove much numerous roads that may need create a new state out of our city liberal" of all five of Clinton's budget domestic cuts are about 75 percent of the confusion that resulted from maintenance because of winter

Reopening the government "is not just a lights off, lights on proposition," Office of Personnel Manage ment Director James B. King said, because many agencies face formidable backlogs of work.

Exiles on Main Street Increasingly blamed for America's urban ills, the

new initiative to drive them off the streets, reports Sue Anne Pressley from Austin, Texas

No room for sentiment

among America's most liberal

homeless are facing a

VERY night, the residents retire, hundreds of them disappearing into the alleys and abandoned buildings, into tents tucked deep in the woodlands or small encampments scattered along the creeks and rivers.

They are this city's homeless, and their numbers always swell this time of year, when the first snows begin to fall in the north, and Austin's 75-degree afternoons seem particularly inviting to the adventurous or the threadbare.

cities across the nation, the homethis winter as they face a determined push of new proposals and thing more ominous: the growing hardheartedness of America.

"It is an increasing trend in cities essentially criminalize homeless- no effort to clean up, they dump the ness," said Maria Foscarinis, execu- garbage and trash, and there's the tive director of the National Law presence of enormous rats. We can't Center on Homelessness and give our public spaces over to a cer-Poverty in Washington, DC. "I tain group." think, at best, it reflects frustration urban ills on homeless people."

any given night, Foscarinis and other advocates for the homeless ets, have been dismissed by the In Austin, the city's estimated sion," he said: "The feeling I have is said, there are about 700,000 home- courts with little impact, critics said, 6,000 homeless can be found along it will be more of the same. The poless people in the United States, and local officials have long debated. how to address their needs while also protecting the interests of merchants and property owners.

· What is notable now is the forcefulness with which these communilies are attacking the problem using police officers as their agents The crackdown is coming, home bury district and other drinking and drugs, and more cynic contributed to this report.

ing the substance-abuse and job- during his recent reelection cam- panhandling, the same people day training programs meant to help the paign and it was considered one fac- in and day out. They chose this homeless restore their lives.

many cities in the vanguard of the get-tough approach to the homeless are

of the cities in the vanguard of the stress that he favors more social get-tough approach are among the | service programs for the homeless City Council is nearing final ap- downs. proval of a law to ban camping in any public place, a shortsighted step, critics say, in a city generally

In Boston, police recently began Seattle, city officials have ordered a vigorous enforcement of its sidewalk and trespass laws, making it difficult, critics say, for the homedowntown area. In New Orleans, an anti-camping law has just been pro-But here and in more than 40 posed, designed to control the homeless youths - the self-deless are receiving a grim message | scribed "gutter punks" - who |

swarm the French Quarter. said New Orleans City Council Presone else. Particularly in Lafayette sively request money. Square, there's a group that feeds

to the homeless, though many tick- ing." ple arrested.

from encampments in Golden Gate. tions of the city parks. Park and rousting them from door- Residents there tend to be older.

tor in his defeat. Incoming mayor | lifestyle.' Even more striking is that many | Willie Brown has been careful to |

PHOTOGRAPH: JACKY CHAPMAN

viewed as the state's bastion of lib- nity the perception they're address- proposing a \$3.5 million "campus" homeless people visually present." cisco Coalition on Homelessness, of 15.000. "What happens is, you | services. less even to sit down anymore in the | end up digging your camps deeper that are really dangerous."

sponse to providing shelter for the homeless and dealing with panhandlers has changed significantly over "The general public is fed up," | the past five years, according to DC | make not having a home a crime . . . Council member Linda Cropp (D), most. Although proponents de- proposal. "We have certain stan- Services Committee. The DC Coun- don't want to spend money on the dren. scribe the measures as a forced re- | dards we must uphold. People | cil responded to complaints by | homeless. We've turned into more sponse to an increasing and ever | should be able to use public spaces. | downtown business owners in 1994 | of a big city, we've turned a little bolder homeless population, critics | When other people come in and | by passing the "aggressive panhan- | more callous. You see it so much, see the movement as proof of some- build cardboard tents and so on, the dling" law, which makes it a crime the homeless, you get numb to it. area becomes inaccessible for any- to harass an individual or aggres-

around the country to pass laws that people on weekends, and they make HE District in recent years and his dog lived on the streets, earlier commitment to pro- experience into an acclaimed book, vide shelter for every homeless per- Travels With Lizbeth. He thinks the son in need. "DC is attempting to current climate toward the homeuse its money more wisely (in terms | less is especially mean-spirited, but For the past two years, San Fran- of the homeless and dealing with he doesn't think much will change.

cal about society's attitudes. Many of them classify themselves as the working homeless, picking up construction jobs when they can. But they also argue that with Austin's hope of accumulating enough money to rent a place to live.

FOCUS ON U.S. POVERTY/The Washington post 17

"We're not bothering anybody," said a 25-year veteran of the streets who gave his name as Henry.

But downtown property owners beg to differ. Saying there is an important distinction between downon-their-luck families and transient individuals, usually single men, who cause the most problems, the property owners say they have finally lost patience.

"Austin is apparently known as an easy city. It provides a lot for the homeless. Others call it a soft touch," said Jose Martinez, executive director of the Downtown Austin Alliance, which favors the anti-camping bill and cites more than 80 public and private assistance programs Austin offers to the homeless.

"What we are talking about in the case of the downtown area is a small, hard-core group of individuthrough illegal, immoral activity —

The City Council's new anti-camping ordinance is expected to carry country's most liberal. Here, the rather than further police crack- say, eventually would lead to some-"Several million dollars have the same time, the council's homegone down the drain so this mayor's less task force, a group of 34 busioffice can give the business commu- ness and community leaders, is ing the problem, by having fewer | for the homeless that would follow the example set in Orlando. There, said Paul Boden of the San Fran- the Homeless Coalition has used private and public funds to conwho contrasts the city's available | struct a covered pavilion that can shelter beds — about 1,400 — with | sleep up to 500 people and provide the estimated homeless population | laundry facilities and health

So far, however, Austin officials and putting them in neighborhoods | seem lukewarm about the idea, citing costs and problems in finding a The District of Columbia's re- local neighborhood that would

allow such a gathering in its midst. Said task force member Tom Hatch, an architect: "It's insane to I think people don't know what to Your passion wanes."

Lars Eighner is well-acquainted with that attitude. For 41/2 years, he has backed away from an with Eighner eventually turning the

further disrupt the lives of the peo- music clubs and drinking spots; in people in jail and people know that. Mayor Frank Jordan, a former po- sity of Texas campus; and in simple mean probably that the shanty-

lice officers, were clearing people greenways and little-traveled sec- the homeless. It's not going to run and how many more will be hungry. them out of town.

# A War Waged Against the notoriously tight and expensive housing market, they have little Dispossessed

**OPINION** Ellen Goodman

THEY'VE disappeared again. I The deserving poor who made their cameo appearance over the holiday season vanished as soon the Christmas tree was put out with the

For a few weeks, their real life stories appeared in holiday appeals for charity, for food and toys. Mothers who lost their jobs or their health or their husbands. Children who went without and whose lives went downhill.

But after the holiday hiatus things are back to what passes for normal these days. In Washington and in the public debate, the deserving poor are once again the pathological poor. Poverty is not an economic issue but a moral one.

The loudest voices in the budget als who support themselves battle, the largest number of votes in Congress, echo the sentiments of less advocates charge, as budget | neighborhoods. But Jordan was | stealing, purse-snatching. In Austin, | Ralph Reed, the head of the Christcuts on every level also are shrink- sharply criticized for the actions you see these people at the corners | ian Coalition, who talks about welfare as the way we "subsidize the very pathological behaviors that we know consign people to hopeless and generational poverty."

fines as high as \$500 and, critics | wrangling between the White House and Congress, I don't know thing akin to a debtors' prison. At | precisely how deep the cuts will be to programs for the poor. But there is little doubt that we are - eyes to deeper poverty in the name of saving children from debt.

We are embarked on this radical course, barely blushing, because the conservatives have won the image war. Like victors who get to write history, they have at least temporarily won the battle over portraying the poor. And the poverty

On one level, the welfare reform bill that passed Congress would "merely" transfer responsibility and funds from the federal government to the states in block grants, cutting \$58 billion in the process. But on the human level, it would reform welfare by ending it as a federal enthe very places they seek out the ident Peggy Wilson, author of the chairman of the council's Human do. They're frustrated, and they titlement for poor mothers and chil-

We are encouraged to appease our social conscience by focusing on the worst images of the poor and by repeating as a mantra the glib promise: less will be more.

Way back in the '60s and '70s, liberals too had grandlose ideas about our country's ability to win the war against poverty. They were not modest enough in appraising the ability of public policy to change

But now it's conservatives who are immodest beyond the point of on the part of local politicians and, cisco has been leading the way in its: root causes," Cropp said. "It's not | "It's really not too surprising that | recklessness. Immodest in the cerat worst, an effort to blame the firm-handed approach to the prob- necessarily that patience is running people try to maintain this upper- tainty" that public un-policy can lem. More than 27,000 citations for out. Money is running out, and the middle class illusion that everything change behavior and economic real-This is hardly a new problem. On | nuisance crimes have been issued | need sometimes seems to be grow- | is wonderful, and seeing people in | ity for millions. Immodest about the the parks breaks down that lilu- relationship between policy and

We are headed toward massive. except to increase police work and Sixth Street, a high-profile center of lice are not going to put all these changes and we don't know the consequences. We don't know how "the Drag" section near the Univer- : "It won't affect the masses. It will many more parents will find jobs and how many more families will be lice chief, recently stepped up the plastic tents and more elaborate, towns will be buildozed more regure homeless. We don't know how efforts with announcements that po- semi-permanent setups along the larly. But it's not going to get rid of many fewer children will be born

But we can be sure of one thing. For those who live in poverty, less is and the timing of their actions... ways and alleys in the Haight-Ash- more seriously impaired by years of Staff writer Lonnae O'Neal Parker hot going to be more. It will be even less.

# A Stone's

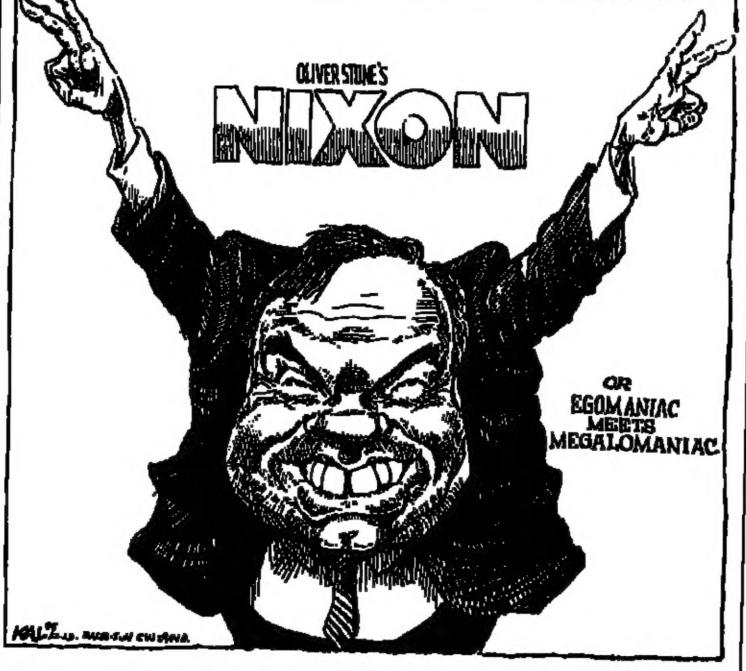
THE YEAR'S first dream L came after a day of moviegoing, magazine-reading and a Dagwood sandwich at midnight. In the near future, a stern psychlatrist was asking about the exact moment that I deluded myself into believing Oliver Stone had taken over William F. Buckley's National Review magazine. I began to babble:

Sorry, doctor; I can't remember. But it must have been soon after the Nixon film came out. It seems obvious now: Stone

would not long restrict himself to cinematic revisionism of events and people already cold on the Vietnam, JFK, Nixon. Distorting events already receding into history's advancing shadow was child's play,

No. he would have eventually understood that distorting the present is a greater, more remeans persuading the electorate The current battle over the federal budget deficit is an impor-

tant example: GOP 101 in Instant taxes for yourself and your con-



stituents and cripple the federal government's powers now. On the other side of the aisle, Democrats in Demagoguery 10 fight against making wealthy reclpients of Medicare pay premiums according to their means and then claim they are only protecting the poor.

That twitch of your eyebrow says I go too far. What else would you expect from one in journalism, a trade that has always arrogated to itself the task of instant history? Here is the core of much of the antagonism and distrust that has developed in Washington between the politicians and the media, who sell competing versions of the same events into the same mar-

ket almost as they occur. They became us, and we became them, thanks largely to television.

Yes, I know, telephobia is an

obsession with us print people. And yes, I digress. What, you ask insistently, does this have to do with Oliver Stone and National Review, Buckley's lively opinion sheet that is firmly anchored on the right far from Stone's left-wing paranoia?

It was only in January 1996, that I began to see this, doc. There was the movie, in which Stone has his cinematic Nixon acknowledge being a pawn of the hidden system — "the beast" --that runs and corrupts America. And there was National Review. reporting the current president had sold out brave patriots in Eastern Europe in an act of con-

temporaneous treachery. The article explained that the Clinton administration had betrayed Eastern European countries wanting to join NATO to get Russia to send 1,000 troops to serve in Bosnia under U.S. com-

mand. In a secret accord described to National Review by "official and authoritative sources, both Russian and American." Clinton has promised Moscow that "in return for its cooperation with the United States in Bosnia peacekeeping, NATO enlargement will be put on the back burner for the foresceable future." The article said: "It is wrong

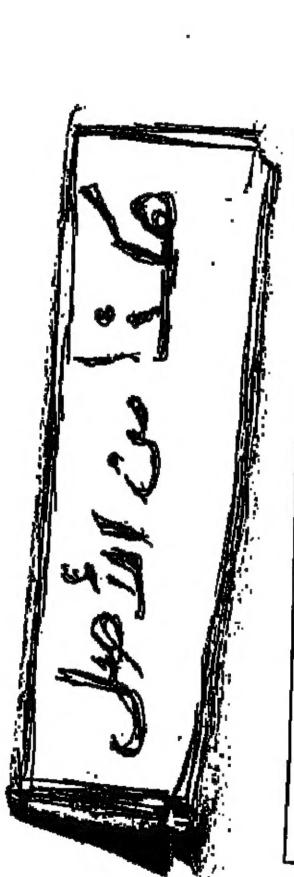
to sacrifice NATO enlargement to the Russians over Bosnia or over anything else." Who could argue with that but some squishy softs, like those guys around Franklin Roosevelt who gave away Eastern Europe at the first Yalta, before Clinton was born? Who, doc?

Not you, I guess. Certainly not me. But get this: Who do you think wrote the article? Peter Rodman, director of national security programs at the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom. Nixon! And Rodman worked for Henry Klasinger in the Nixon White House. What more evidence of a connection to Oliver

Stone do you need, man? You dismiss the article as just a Clinton-bashing lead-in to the '96 political campaign? Then it is true: Only we paranoids see things anymore. Even before the article was published Rodman's information was aired as a question on national television (ABC directed at Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Christopher denied it. But he would, wouldn't he? What more proof could you need? And Rodman and Stone have

never met, have never discussed "Clinton," the Bosnia betrayal screenplay. Of course. Of course, doc. But they will in my next movie, or my next National Review article. Truth is too important to be tied down by mere



GUARDIAN WEEKLY January 14 1998

The settlement of the

conflict in the Balkans

has signalled Bonn's

re-emergence as an active

player on the world stage,

HE scene took place in Day-

Hope Hotel, the Serbian president,

Slobodan Milosevic, bumped into

Wolfgang Ischinger, a senior official

in the German foreign ministry and

Bonn's chief negotiator in the Con-

ensued was the first for four years

between a Serb leader and an offi-

portant person in Dayton. But the

second most important is you."

Who could ever have imagined that

cial representative of Germany.

ute of that kind to Bonn?

ton, Ohio, in November

writes Louis Delattre

New Germany ready

to flex its muscles

1995. In a corridor of the was scrapped for good in 1995.

The Accidental President

**Douglas Brinkley** 

MAN OF THE PEOPLE: A Life of Harry S. Truman By Alonzo L. Hamby Oxford University Press, 760pp. \$35

HE STORY OF Harry Trusouri politician became one of absorbing the biographies of coura-America's greatest presidents through an appealing combination of old-fashioned common sense, accomplishment. "Give 'em Hell High School and a dearth of money Harry," like his heroes "Honest | led Truman to a series of dead-end Abe" and "Old Hickory," has be- jobs, including bookkeeper, farmer come enshrined in America's folk and haberdasher. In France, during kingdom, where George Washing- World War I, he earned his first faton tosses silver dollars across the | vorable recognition for exemplary Potomac River and John Kennedy | service as an artillery officer. reigns supreme in Camelot: man and myth forever blurred. Although Truman left office in low public esteem, his standing has risen steadily over the years; during the 1992 election George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot evoked his name in mantra-like fashion.

has been forever sanctified, along | who carefully avoided public or pri- | oughbred sense, a New Dealer. He | "elephantine bureaucracy," Truman comes Alonzo L. Hamby's unantici- vate scandal. Truman justified his pated Man Of The People: A Life of relationship with cheats like Peul conservative bent, who consistently slasher of government waste. Harry S. Truman. Hamby, a profest dergast on the largely erroneous sor of history at Ohio University, and scrupulously researched nor- | who attacked them." By toeing the | ond World War, when he headed a trait of Truman that strips away the | Pendergast line and demonstrating | special Senate watchdog committee |

mythologizer's varnish to give us the authentic, gutsy politician whose life was a potent testimony to burning ambition, good judgment and blind luck.

Truntan was born on a modest farm outside Lamar, Missouri. in 1884. Although beset by diphtheria man is the stuff of legend. | and poor eyesight as a boy, he over-. The straight-talking Mis- came his own deficiencies in part by

While a Groton degree and Hudson Valley ancestry afforded FDR entree to Harvard, Independence

Hamby enters new territory

when writing about Truman's early political career. Backed by the corrupt Kansas City political boss Tom Pendergast, Truman was elected Jackson County Eastern District Judge, where he supervised an array of public works programs. An | ate in 1934. belief that they were "fundamentally



boundless capacity for loyalty. Truman was elected to the U.S. Sen-

promoted the puritanical virtues of the Babbitt belt. This attitude won more decent than the do-gooders | him many admirers during the Sec-

assigned to uncover inefficiency and corruption in the nation's defense program. While the "little peoworried about Washington's was a pragmatic neopopulist with a reached national notoriety as a

> Truman had served only 83 days as vice-president when FDR died at Warm Springs, Georgia, "The Senafor from Pendergast," at age 60, was suddenly the accidental comman-

der-in-chief, faced with the transdous hurden of winning the war against Germany and Japan. "When they told me yesterday what had happened," he said, "I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me." None of the above did, of course

fall on Truman, but on the presi-dent's direct order, an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, ushering in the nuclear age. Hamby concludes that Truman, convinced that invading the Japanese home islands would have brought the American boys back in body bags, did the right thing. Unfortunately, Hamby, who carefully avoids getting mired in the acrimo nious historical debate, gives critics of the decision short shrift. Essentially a Cold War historian.

Hamby does an excellent job of trac-ing the motivations behind Truman's Fair Deal domestic programs and unti-Soviet foreign policies, it's all here: the Truman Doctrine, the Tait-Hartley Act, the Marshall Plan, the Berlin Airlift, the National Security Act, the 1948 upset victory, the creation of NATO, the Chinese Rev olution, Joe McCarthy, NSC 68, the Korean War, Donglas MacArthur's dismissal. This seemingly endless cial historical turning points, has made Truman's presidency a fertile ground for scholars. At the behalf these events is Truman, making tough decisions more carefully in this book than in other biographics. an ordinary fellow less self-assured

than we have been led to believe.

The story shows that five years once again become a leading player had it participated in world affairs as actively as it did in 1995.

The decision by the German government to send 4,000 troops of the Bundeswehr to join Nato's Implementation Force (I-For) in the former Yugoslavia may not have been the key event in the process of restoring peace in the Balkans. But it was felt by German public opinion to mark an historic turning point.

The psychological importance of that decision has probably been un-This was the first time since 1945 fully in a military intervention be moved to cast a more dispassionate

Zeitung puts it: "Bonn is no longer Berne." In other words, the chequebook diplomacy that allowed Germany to take part, from a distance, tact Group on the former Yu- in the Gulf war can no longer serve goslavia. The handshake that as a substitute for foreign policy on the part of a sovereign Germany. Even though a majority of Germans continue to cite Switzerland or Sweden as the country of their "Richard Holbrooke is the most im- dreams, the nation's governing elite

that led up to it, the Germans at last

feel in a position to fulfil the respon-

the new world context. Only a few

weeks ago, it would have been un-

thinkable for Germany to agree to

send troops to a region like the for-

mer Yugoslavia, where the crimes

of the Wehrmacht are still fresh in

people's minds. That policy of non-

intervention, long advocated by

As Josef Joffe of the Süddeutsche

Chancellor Helmut Kohl himself.

sibilities incumbent upon them in

has put Germany on a different course, which is more consistent with the actual importance of the Belgrade would one day pay a trib- world's third-largest economic

The year 1995, then, will be seen sary of the end of the second world to normality". In countries where memories of the Nazi past are still painfully vivid, such as Israel, the Netherlands and Poland, Kohl was welcomed as a special ally in 1995 versity, a chair of European studies his visit to Israel last June.

"Normality means knowing your own history and facing up to it," says parliamentary deputy Karl Lamers, of the Christian Democra-

ment greater room for manoeuvre | celebrations, even though the leadin deciding on its foreign policy.

Le Monde

A new and more political dimeningredients of German cepts the consequences of its newfound power and the responsibilities

restraint remains one of the major and hailed as "the strong man of Eu- | planks of German foreign policy. No rope". At Jerusalem's Hebrew Uni- | German leader, for example, would dream of declaring that he hoped first speech as French president.

that Bonn had chosen to participate | tic Union. Germany plainly feels | fering from what a French diplomat | lecture their partners, including the youd Nato frontiers - even though | eye on its past. In the view of one | is hard to tell whether they display | getary discipline. the mission of the German troops, leading government figure, "We're | such symptoms because they are | It is equally true that the Gerwho are based in Croatia and not getting closer to the day when Ger- politically naïve or because they are mans now stick up for their own in-Bosnia, is mainly of a logistical many will he able to talk about simply too big for their boots. terests more staunchly than they Hitler the way the French talk about | When, at the end of October, Kohl | used to in the past, notably when it As a result of that decision, as Napoleon." That shift in public opin- | declined an invitation to attend the | is a case of tipping the balance of

ers of 150 other countries throughout the world were due to make the after reunification Germany has as a watershed. The 50th anniver- sion has been added to the tradi- journey to New York, one could not help thinking that Germany was on the international stage. Never war coincided with a mounting economic power, as symbolised by now determined to be treated with sense among Germans of a "return | the Deutschmark, Germany now ac- | especial consideration. That impression was reinforced when Kohl explained that he did not feel he could content himself with "speak-It is true that a certain degree of | ing for five minutes" after such a

It is tempting to suppose that Germany has "great power" pretensions. But things are not as simple was even named after him following his country would "show the way" as that. It is true that Bonn calls the to the rest of the world, as Jacques | tune when it comes to defining the Chirac did on May 7, 1995, in his | terms of the transition to the third stage of European economic and But German leaders are showing | monetary union, and that German increasingly frequent signs of suf- leaders tend increasingly often to has described, as "power flushes". It | United States, on the need for bud-

well as of the political consensus | ion has naturally given the govern- | United Nations' 50th anniversary | EU financial aid in favour of central

and eastern Europe. But the word Filhrungsnation (leading nation) remains taboo in Germany. It is never used except in rightwing intellectual circles. "We don't want to become a bigger fish than the rest," says a highly placed foreign min-istry official (note the use of an aquatic metaphor redolent of harmony and silence, not power and confrontation).

There can be no doubt that Germans were flattered to be offered "partnership in leadership" by President Bush in May 1989, and again by President Clinton in July 1994. But they discovered in 1995 that their special relationship with the US did not rule out fundamental, i minor, differences of approach and even, on occasion, latent tensions.

There were several strong indications in 1995, above all with the Dayton conference, that the US was sometimes more concerned to protect its own interests than those of Europe. As a result, the German leadership is convinced that a strengthening of European integration is now more urgent than ever, as was demonstrated by its decision to opt for a European military observation satellite in close collaboration with France.

German public opinion is not yet ready to accept the idea of German hegemony. What is more, Germany's past, combined with the likelihood that its population will dwindle, prevents it from playing a role like that of the US anywhere in the world. This is supported by the fact that in central and eastern Eurone English is more popular as a language than German.

Germany, which likes to define itself as a "post-national power", prefers to leave others to push through proposals that are close to its heart. As Lamers said recently: "We must lead the way without the others noticing." There could be no neater way of expressing the notion that what is good for Germany is

To be sure, 1995 was also marked by serious doubts in Germany about the future of European integration. But in the last account Kohl succeeded in achieving through peaceful means what others before him, and as far as back as Bismarck, had tried to impose by military conquest: a zone of peace and prosperity all round Germany's borders.

good for Europe.

(December 31/January 1)

# Turning Misery to Advantage

Michael Dirda

The Life and Work of Djuna Barnes By Phillip Herring Viking, 386pp, \$29,95

NIGHTWOOD The Original Version And Related Drafts By Djuna Barnes Edited by Cheryl J. Plumb Dalkey Archive, 319pp. \$23,95

(1892-1982) spent the last 40-some years of her amazing life. Two alive. I used to think of ringing her one of the last surviving giants of raphy and a modestly priced schol- | throat, a then common method for | also be quite vulgarly funny, as 20th-century literature, author of arly edition of Barnes's greatest preserving the life of fasting sufthe legendary novel Nightwood, prose work. and a woman who counted James and T.S. Eliot among her admirers. | chronological account of this once | O'Neill, John Reed and other bo- | read the Decline And Fall Of The Make that fervent admirers: Eliot | neglected writer's family, friends kept her picture above his desk and career. By comparison with the like so many of the artistically ambi- novel's grandest rhetorical flights reminiscent, by turns, of Walting (next to that of Yeats), addressed | ill-organized, highly anecdotal 1983 | tious, the would-be novelist hied her- | belong to Dr. Matthew O'Connor, a | For Godot, The Family Reunion, her as "dearest" in letters, and once life produced by Andrew Field (oft | self to Paris and the Left Bank, | drunken Irish Tiresias and advisor | and Long Day's Journey into Night, declared her the greatest living vilified - sometimes justly - for where she got to know . . . every- to the disconsolate, at once swishy, this sorrowful drama builds on its

in his enthusiasm. Dylan Thomas tic, the product of a sabbatical used to read from Nightwood on his | rather than the spillover from a passpeaking tours of America. Samuel sion. The phrase "thoroughly knew, sent her part of the royalties | and might normally be enough to | from Waiting For Godot. Even Dag sink the book, except for one small her affairs were heterosexual, she arches, flying dandruff, a floating the United Nations, valued her work | plot lines, Dluna Barnes's life and | trat passion of her life. "I'm not a les- | ken heart." her verse drama, The Antiphon, into ideas.

Nobel Prize when his plane was spring, in a big, unhappy family. As I never saw her, and doubtless

she would have growled at me to go early autobiographical novel Ryder. and guffawed over the Rabelaisian S IT HAPPENS, a friend of | based on Parisian notables like mine lives in Patchin Place, I salon-keeper Natalie Barney, journalist Janet Flanner, and poets Romaine Brooks and Renée Vivien). In scholars have begun to mine

training, provides a straightforward | where she came to know Eugene Moreover, Eliot was hardly alone Herring's work seems a little pedan- ingway and Joyce - or Jim, as she plains, "just being miserable isn't

a believer in the freest sorts of free love, Dad either raped the teenaged Djuna and/or gave her as a present away even if she bothered to open to an elderly neighbor to deflower. | ability of perpetuating that race with her grandmother and would of sexual play with the older woman | tary beauty, lying upon a canopied

(surprisingly graphic letters exist). bed, of a rich spectacular crimson. At 17 she was even talked into a | the valance stamped with the bifurcommon-law marriage with a 52- cated wings of the House of Hapsyear-old soap peddler. It only lasted Not surprisingly, Barnes was happy to escape from her family to | stood the Volkbein arms. — gave New York, where in the years just | birth, at the age of forty-five, to an before and after World War I she be- only child, a son, seven days after came a well-paid, sought-after young her physician had predicted that Barnes's work — the University of | journalist (and occasional illustrator. Maryland, which houses her palall too obviously in thrall to Aubrey pers, held a major conference a few | Beardsley). In one stunt piece she her hand or presenting her with a years back. It is, thus, clearly the described the order of being forcebottle of Scotch: After all, she was | right time for both a good new biog- | fed through a tube shoved down her

fragettes. Soon she was hanging out | "whipped with impatience, like a | various projects, but it wasn't until Phillip Herring, a Joyce expert by with the Provincetown Players, man waiting at a toilet door for hemian notables. But, eventually, Roman Empire." In fact, most of the his early biography of Nabokov), body, including Pound, Stein, Hem- witty and pitiful. As O'Connor ex- author's unresolved anger toward was allowed to call him.

ing, if somewhat severe auburn- | complains about her loneliness, the Beckett, whom Barnes scarcely sound" comes irresistibly to mind haired beauty, attractive to both doctor quickly one-ups her: "A bromen and women. Although most of ken heart have youl I have falling Hammarskjold, secretary general of fact: If the soaps ever need any new | always called Thelma Wood the cen- | kidney, shattered nerves and a broso highly that he helped translate | work will supply plenty of naughty | bian. I simply loved Thelma." The liaison lasted eight or so years, and tured, lyrical and haunting, Night-Swedish. Barnes thought it her For starters, Barnes's father, when it was over, Barnes memorial- wood didn't precisely sell itself to 5, Patchin Place. Real creators, no

Robin Vote, i.e., Wood, on the people who care for her. Here is the book's august and intricately wrought opening sentence: "Early in 1880, in spite of a well-

founded suspicion as to the advis-Through most of her childhood the | which has the sanction of the Lord future author slept in the same bed | and the disapproval of the people. Hedvig Volkbein, a Viennese seem to have engaged in some level | woman of great strength and miliburg, the feather coverlet an envelope of satin on which, in massive and tarnished gold threads,

ARNES doesn't always write | and settled down to years of crankiwith such oracular, slightly humorous gravity: she can when a character describes another someone inside who had decided to enough - you've got to know how." In her youth Barnes was a strik- When Nora, the Barnes stand-in.

she describes the havoc wreaked by history in her introduction to the novel's "original version," crediting Barnes's friend Entity Coleman with ! astute editorial advice and great cleverness in persuading T.S. Eliot to read the manuscript. Eliot, then working as an editor for the British publishers Faber and Faber, insisted on some 13 pages of cuts. which are here restored. In general : his editing "blurred sexual, particularly homosexual, references and a few points that put religion in an ursavory light. Resides presenting Parnes's original vision of her masterpiece. Plamb's edition also provides useful textual and explanatory notes, as well as reproductions of the surviving typescript pages. Soon after Nightwood appeared

in 1936 Barnes's life fell apart: She started to drink heavily, love affairs went sour, money nearly dried up-Back in New York she rented a small apartment on Patchin Place ness, alcohol and writer's block Perhaps not the normal kind of block, for she composed reams of poetry and worked sporadically on 1957 that she was able to finish The Antiphon, a play that virtually no one could understand. Written in a kind of Elizabethan blank verse and her family, her persistent sense of betrayal and sexual exploitation. It ends with a mother crushing the skull of her Barnes-like daughter. Barnes also evokes her father c "flanked by warming-pans, bas- [[ soons and bastards."

Djuna Barnes died in 1982 one. week after her 90th birthday. Even | Shocking, confusingly struct now, I wish that I had had the courage to ring her doorbell at No. masterplece. Rumor has it that he Wald, lived with wife, mistress and lized her lost love in a great work of prospective publishers. Indeed, matter how wayward their genlus, was pulling strings to get her the mother, not to mention assorted off- lamentation, Nightwood. In prose of Cheryl Plumb provides an en- deserve our thanks and homage.

# Algeria pins hopes on pluralist government | mostly of people who were ministers in the previous government.

Can new premier Ahmed Ouyahia provide the break with the past

promised by President Zeroual, asks All Habib

Liamine Zeroual had promised able majority, to complete the success.

In choosing a fairly young man, ruling cadres since it became inde- at a time when the country is going ! But Ouyahia's team consists . A noted absence is any represen-

pendent in 1962, Zeroual has kept | through a crucial period in his promise to the electorate.

But as he is a cautious man he has preferred to give the job of preother words to someone he knows well and can trust.

diplomat, succeeded Mokdad Sifi as position leaders during 1994, and are due to be held, probably within the post of junior minister for the tions the president conducted with nomic reforms initiated by Sifi and during the runup to November's the jailed leaders of the Islamic Salained at bringing about a gradual vation Front (FIS), Abassi Madani turned him to office with a comfort- and All Benhadi - again without

has supplied Algeria with most of its | Algeria's arcane corridors of power, | Renewal.

Observers believe he has a more political profile than his pre-

On DECEMBER 31 Ahmed played an active part in the various ficult political and economic enviOuyahia, a 43-year-old career stages of the abortive talks with opronment: general and local elections A new element is the creation of It is impossible to tell whether transition to a market economy will need to be pursued.

On January 5, less than a week volved in Zeroual's attempts to es- formed a 31-member government, system. As one local journalist put belongs neither to the military elite mentalists. Ouyahia is believed now and a member of the small legal op- Ouyahia's cabinet is the first pluralnor to the political community that to be thoroughly familiar with position party, the Party of Algerian ist government Algeria has known

The key portfolio of foreign minister has gone to Ahmed Attaf, a 42year-old diplomat who was a junior minister in Sifi's team.

President Zeroual himself, followwho had been premier since April | geria, retains the post of defence Ouyahia is believed to have Ouyahia takes up his post in a difof the security forces and army aptaken in the upper reaches of the
played an active part in the various ficult political and economic envipointments.

900,000 of them in France. The composition of the new team

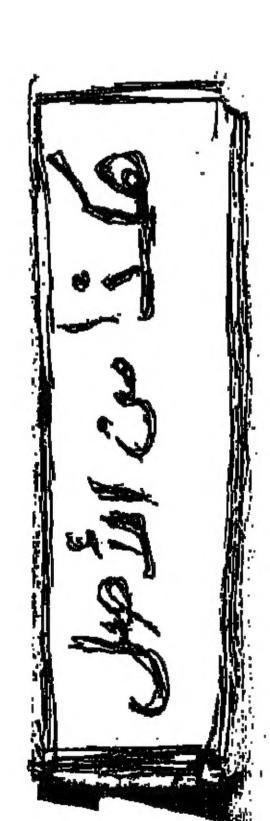
has come as a disappointment to college of generals. those who had pinned their hopes Meanwhile, an since independence.

tative of the Movement for Culture and Democracy, a violently anti-Islamist Berber party headed by Said Sadi, who polled almost 10 per cent of the vote at November's presidential election.

Despite its pluralist touch, the mier to his top political adviser, in | decessor Sift, a discreet technocrat | ing a well-established tradition in All new administration will probably have little say in actual policy-mak minister and thus remains in control ing. Its job will be to apply decisions

Zeroual, since obtaining electoral Algerian prime minister. President above all in the semi-secret negotiation the next six months, and the eco- expatriate community. Almost 1.5 legitimacy in November, is now able million Algerians live abroad, about to call the tune, or whether the real power lies, as it always has up to now, in the hands of the so-called

Meanwhile, an end to the "break" with what he called "the old Because he was so closely in- after his appointment, Ouyahia on the promised break with the old violence remains the main concern of ordinary Algerians, who also tablish a dialogue with the legal which includes one woman. If also it, "the mountain has given birth to have to face up to an increasingly who is little known to the public and opposition and the Islamic funda comprises three moderate Islamists, a mouse". But the fact remains that difficult economic situation - a series of price rises, including those of electricity, gas, bread, milk and petrol, has just been introduced. (January 2 and 7/8)



Bertrand de la Grange in Quatemala City

66 HE Guatemala military becoming concerned by the scale of the changes it has encouraged."

This surprising judgment on an army that has been reviled all over the world for the past 30 years for | forcing President Ramiro de León to its systematic human rights abuses came from a member of the United | involved in the killings and sack his Nations team of foreign diplomats monitoring the dialogue between Guatemala's guerrilla movement and the government. As a shrewd judge of Central American politics, generation which grew up in the he is convinced the military is now | climate of the so-called war on subprepared to begin handing back the | version, has helped the movement reins of power to the government.

He warned, however: "Some sections of the army and those holding economic power in the country are panicking at the thought of the wouldn't happen again. It unfortuguerrillas, the Church and politinately shows that after 35 years of cians insisting, as they have already | fighting, time is needed to change begun to do, on trying officers who people's attitudes. were said to be involved in the massacre of indigenous communi- more than military training is to ties and the murders of prominent | learn to function in a democratic opposition members. They don't society. The assistance some counwant to hear that some of them risk | tries are giving, such as Great prison. They consider that they Britain which is offering grants to saved the country by winning the our officers, and the presence of the little difference to the poor war against subversion and there UN mission monitoring human fore owe no one any explanation."

This is naturally not the view of | help us move faster in the right human rights organisations which direction." after years of struggling in obscurity have at last secured a foothold in | who co-ordinates the 400-strong UN the political process by winning several legislative assembly seats at the November 12 general election. They ran in the election under the banner of the New Guatemala Democratic Front (FDNG), a coalition of labour unions and associa- Ramiro de León has made some muddy road. Children with runtions, linked to the Guatemala National Revolutionary Union

The outgoing president, Ramiro vices and replacing the police de León Carpio, himself a former prosecutor of human rights violations, says the left's unexpectedly hope that he will be able to speed up strong showing in the election the pace of reform before he steps should help "to speed up peace down. It is a sentiment shared by a negotiations and facilitate the reinte | few of the younger officers who

gration of guerrillas in society" ism is no longer a sin or a crime."

The elections have been a twofold setback for Guatemalan society's most reactionary elements. They tary's influence had disappeared with the stinging defeat suffered by the four army generals who ran for the presidency, but also that the States, the illegal trade in valuable new situation enables the country's timber and car thests throughout anti-militarist left to express its | the continent." views openly. It is the first time that it has been able to do so since 1954 the president. "As in Israel, we too when a coup, backed by the United | have our extremists, often civilians, | dentally killed by a policeman. Arbenz's socialist government.

rallies that welcomed the return of lorder to create a climate of disorder the remains of former president | and hold back the signing of a peace Arbenz from neighbouring El Sal- agreement." vador, where he died in 1971. helped to give an idea of the extent of the changes that have taken

Guatemala's defence minister had the head of the army. instructed the troops that for the

sake of national reconciliation they should not respond to provocation.

It was deemed necessary in order to avoid a repetition of the serious has become the driving incident that had taken place two weeks before causing the deaths of 11 indigenous peasants from a comthe village of Chisec. It was the first such massacre since 1990 and sent shock waves through the country, defence minister, General Mario Enriquez Morales.

> His successor, General Gonzalez who belongs to the transitional towards democratic change.

"The Chisec events came as a severe shock to us," he said. "We were absolutely sure such a thing

"What our officers need even rights violations in Guatemala will

Argentina's Leonardo Franco, team's activities, says that "impunity is deeply ingrained in this society at every level, especially where the military is involved."

"We are not seeing very many results," he added, "but President bold decisions such as doing away with compulsory military service, play on refuse dumps and beg disbanding the army's auxiliary ser-

Some of the president's aides want the soldiers implicated in He pointed out: "Lestwing activ- human rights abuses to be pen-

"More than 250 officers were dismissed in El Salvador after the peace agreement was signed," a young colonel pointed out. "In trol cocaine exports to the United

"We can't go too fast," counters aborted Colonel Jacobo | who are trying to stir up the army. | Violent clashes, punctuated by They are capable of resorting to exchanges of gunfire for hours Last October, the enthusiastic armed attacks and kidnappings in on end, broke out between the

In an attempt to discourage such reactionary elements, the former human rights prosecutor has converted his general staff, which used Overwhelmed by angry crowds to be his predecessor's personal shouting slogans hostile to the guard, into a school for training army, the soldiers escorting the officers determined to wrest coffin, were forced to abandon it in Guatemala from international isola- that they are urban guerrilla fighttion and replace their generals at

(December 31/January 1)



... Violent clashes followed the accidental police shooting last Nov Vania Thermidor in Cité-Soleil, where tension remains high PHOTOGRAPH, PATRICE COUG

# Fear on the rise in Haiti's slums

Democracy may have returned, but it has made n Cité-Soleil, reports Jean-Michel Caroll from Port-au-Prince

NIERING the huge sprawling shanty town known as Cité-Soleil ("Sun City") on the outskirts of the Haitian capital is difficult even by Jeep. Stinking puddles pot-hole the ning noses and swollen bellies with the help of a few English words whenever a stranger comes along. Meanwhile their

mothers cook meagre meals on makeshift braziers. Today, more than a year after democracy has been restored to Haiti, the poverty is still appalling in Clté-Soleil, yet it has remained one of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's most loyal strongholds. Wedged between Route Nationale 1 and Port-au-Prince Bay, Cité-Soleil is home to more than 200,000 residents Guatemala we have to get rid of 500 living in more or less deprived officers, including those who con- neighbourhoods bearing such evocative names as Cité-Carton

> ("Cardboard City") and Boston. For some weeks now, Cité-Soleil has been causing alarm. On November 23, seven-yearold Vanla Thermidor was accipolice and armed civilians. The local police station was ransacked

> and burned to the ground. Since then, newspapers and radio stations have been apreadlog stories about a mysterious "red army" whose members. allegedly equipped with combat weapons, are said to be hiding out in the shanty town. There is talk. era or dangerous crack-dealers expelled from the United States. Africa, touted to be the "red

army" leader, agreed to talk to me "to set the record straight" An aide led me through a maze of corridors to a solidly built, bearded man of 31, whose dreadlocks were half hidden in rastafarian turban.

"This whole story of a 'red army' has been made up to discredit us," Africa protested. Introducing himself as the "leader of the Union of the People of Cité-Soleil<sup>8</sup> which supported Lavalas (President Aristide's movement), Africa denied having

He said that there have always been armed groups. 'They're not young men from Cité-Soleil, but former members of the Frank | Revolutionary Front for

### The poverty is still appalling in Cité-Soleil but it remains one of Aristide's strongholds

Haiti's Advancement and Progress, the neo-Duvalierist para-military group set up during the 1991 coup d'état] at the service of Réginald Boulos and the Mevs family."

Mr Boulos is in charge of the Health and Development Centre (CDS), a non-governmental organisation that has obtained substantial credits from the United States for social projects in the shanty town. The Mevs are | swooped on a white UN pick-up. one of Haiti's wealthiest families owning property and a port just outside Cité-Soleil.

Graffiti with such slogans as "Down with Boulos" testify to the unpopularity of the head of the CDS in the shanty town. For some time now, he has been in Miami on an "extended visit".

Africa, who formed his own rastafarian group some years ago, sees him as his main enemy. "Boulos has offered \$600 for my head, But I'm not afraid, for the people protect me."

Azaka, a young singer, confirmed what Africa said, "The red army story has been made up to discredit the struggle of the young people who are only asking for their right to a decent life. Boulos does nothing for us, and you wonder what happens to the money he gets," said Azaka.

He, too, claimed to be a Lavalas supporter. A photograph of Aristide was stuck on a grimy wall next to a poster of Appointment With Death, the film based on the Agatha Christie novel. "Clinton spoke of disarmament and labour-intensive work projects," said the young singer.

"But Fraph mombers still carry their weapons and we are still without work, What's more, many of our young men now think only of getting away." The police station in the shant

town is operating again. The young policemen there are convinced the "red army" exists. Despite the presence of French and Canadian police instructors and soldiers from the UN Mission in Haiti, they hesitate to venture into some parts of Cité-Soleil.

"They have assault rifles, Uzis and grenades," warned a young policeman, his eyes hidden behind dark sunglasses. And another added; "Even the children bere are armed. Gis have been robbed of their weapons. It was midday, and traffic had

backed up for some distance along Route Nationale 1... Suddenly a group of children, aged between eight and 12, truck and pulled off the tailboard. By the time the two riflecarrying Bangladeshi soldiera struggled out of the cabin, the boys had made off with several cases stolen from the vehicle.

The products of poverty and a symbol of the growing crime, these street children, nicknamed,"cocorats", are a ... headache for the UN authorities Visitors to the UN Mission headquarters are advised to take alternative routes to get there (January 3)

**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** January 14 1998

# Private passions on a broad public canvas

Philippe Dagen at a Paris exhibition of more than 1,000 privately owned works of art, which reveal a French taste for surrealism

TART openings these days. there is always someone A who claims that the reaso art dealers and artists are so de spondent, and the art market so depressed, is that the French art curator or critic — will chip in and say with a sigh: "Ah, it's so different in Germany/the United States!"

come up with anecdotes about col-

This argument is clearly wrong, for were it true it would have been | luminating. It can also be purely for- portrait by Masson, the drawings | problem was that the organisers' impossible to mount an exhibition | tuitous, a result of the way the | Masson did for the first edition of | like Passions Privées, now on at the | works were acquired or have been Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de hung. In most exhibitions the way Paris, which comprises more than one looks at paintings is partly con- Bellmer's illustrations for the sec- ciding which works in a given col-

modern and contemporary art in In this show, each exhibit is allowed ries of paintings by Picabia and an-France. Many collectors prefer to to retain its singularity and fend for remain anonymous, but several per- itself in a competitive context. This sonalities — such as Alain Delon, Gunther Sachs, Hubert de Givenchy and Claude Berri - have put their name to their pictures.

The show fills three floors and covers every wall, pillar, nook and | mind can have fun trying to imagine cranny of the huge museum. You need plenty of stamina and a good to measure themselves against each memory to take it all in.

good exhibition. But Passions Privées is of an extremely high quality. A stroll through the show yields than arrange the pictures and sculpcording to artistic affinities, the organisers have deliberately chosen lectors they know in Cologne or to keep works from the same priv-New York, who have works by this vate collection grouped together. So or that eminent artist on the walls of you find a Basquiat at the beginning every room in the house, including | as well as the end of the exhibition, the kitchen. Then everyone says in once next to a Giacometti, then next chorus: "Ah, yes, but things aren't | to a Schnabel. And Giacometti himthe same here. There simply aren't self is also to be found rubbing any French collectors, nor have shoulders with Fautrier, Boltanski, Masson or Gonzalez-Torres

Propinquity of this kind can be il-

1,100 works by more than 400 ditioned by the position they occupy ond edition), Miro's Sand, Hélion's artists from 92 private collections of in the organisers' scheme of things. La Bande Rouge, a breathtaking seouts the visitor in the enjoyable position of being able to decide on his or her preferences, and free to linger or hurry on, as the case may be.

And anyone with a devious turn of the secret thoughts of lenders forced other - "Will thingummy's Dubuffet be better than mine?", or worse, "Why, this is the Miró that old so-

and-so outbid me for ..." There is bound to be jealousy and the noblest kind, since the exhibimanding standards. There was no question of accepting minor works. even when signed by famous artists. in France but they often own paintings and sculptures of considerable

And there is much, much more

Bacon, excellent works by Réqu chot, a fine and very large Télémaque, and a 1929 Nude by Fautrier that belongs to Gunther Sachs. Other names that are well repr sented include Twombly, Soulages, Raysse, Naumann, Mitchell, Bal thus, Rauschenberg, Freud, Bourgeois, Polke, Richter and Johns.

T T IS PLAINLY nonsense to porary art in France. What about Micha Alberola, Nan Goldin, Cindy Sherman and Dan Graham, who are all present in the show? fairly comprehensive coverage Surrealism and Neo-Realism

It would be rash to draw conclu-These include the portrait of a their pictures. One such gap rebanker from Otto Dix's best period, sulted in our being deprived of seviron sculpture by Gonzalez, a self- Bacons and a Rothko. Another wishes or aesthetic preferences did Georges Bataille's L'Histoire de not necessarily coincide with those l'Oeil (the same collector also owns of the owners when it came to de-

lection should be included. That explains, but does not justify, the under-representation of the Support/Surface movement and the over-representation of the Neo-Conceptualists and Neo-Dadaists such as IFP, Cazal, Claude Rutault and Gonzalez-Torres.

That also explains why there are almost no examples of the abstract art of the fifties or sixties, even though abstract works were widely bought in France. Equally puzzling is the scarcity of such famous names as Picasso, Matisse, Dufy, Braque of Derain. Could it be that their works were too valuable to be lent?

What clearly emerges from the exhibition is that French collectors favourite schools are Cubism, Surrealism and Neo-Realism, and that they have been less interested i German and American Expressionism. Futurism, and abstract art from central and eastern Europe.

Their idols are Ernst, Picabia, Michaux, Fautrier, Masson, Glacometti and Dubuffet, who has become the "official" modern artist of the past few decades. There are also many discriminating collectors who go for Gris, Léger, Brauner and Miro. All in all, the exhibition shows that French collectors love and have stuck up for every major movement a triptych by Kirchner, a superb | eral masterpieces, including some | in 20th century French art - which can hardly count as a surprise.

> Passions Privées, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Pans. Closed Monday, Until March 24. (December 22)

# Dubuffet debunked

Philippe Dagen

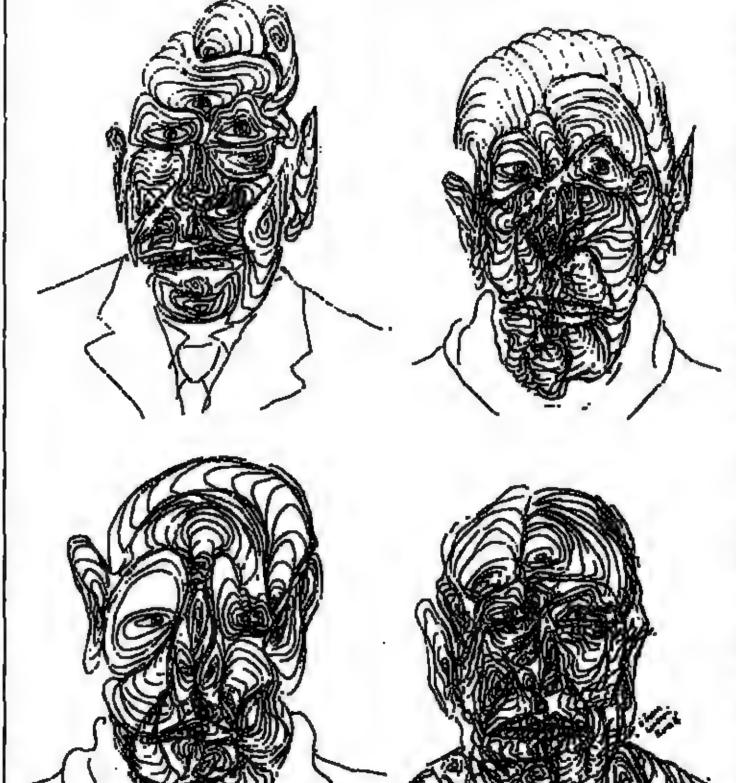
Prospectus et Tous Écrits Sulvants Volumes III and IV by Jean Dubuffet Edited and annotated by Hubert Gallimard 560pp/700pp

220 francs/250 francs Correspondance by Jean Dubuffet and Witold Gombrowicz Gallimard 70pp 65 francs

T WAS looking forward to getting I my teeth into two new volumes of Jean Dubuffet's writings, as well as his correspondence with Witold Gombrowicz, and to applauding this sworn enemy of "suffocating culture" and proud inventor of Art Brut. The dozens of forgotten texts and unpublished letters, accompanied by a full critical apparatus, seemed so attractive a prospect that they obscured a paradox: why were three more volumes (after the two already published) being devoted to this implacable foe of institutions

and officialdom?

The opening pages of Prospectus ing: "Nothing cramps one's style as to meet a native chief." much as a deferential attitude," No one would disagree with that. "Cul- such "cultural" pastimes, forced pil- he rejects one form of art - from You are a nihilist out of necessity." suring; it is disorientated and trading in pre-packaged relics and ils efforts are, on the contrary, di- was already warning against in the every field and counting on the fin- ums and exhibitions. gers of one hand." Ditto. Better even: So far, one has no bone to pick "One often encounters, in a cultural, literary and artistic output, attitudes | ture destroys art is a cause well from their value. It simply shows | too well-fed," he writes. cies specialising in package tours needs to be understood in its broad- erosion of subversive meaning and Dubuffet evades the issue, then



Portraits of Jean Dubuffet by Pierre Bettencourt

Tous Ecrits Suivants are exhilarathunt, a shipwreck and an invitation | sculptor to Rodin, from Titian to Pi- what he needs to do is produce a

The modern era bristles with ture adores enumerating and mea- grimages, group initiations, brick incommoded by the innumerable: all parodics of religion. What Dubuffet rected at restricting numbers in sixtles is now taking place in muse-stripped of all convention.

with him. His contention that culcomparable to those of travel agen- worth espousing. But the word "art" that the general trend is towards an that offer a spot of adventure by in- est sense, from Bosch to the anony- the emergence of a form that has their correspondence becomes less cluding in their programme a lion | mous African artist, from a Khmer | been reduced to silence.

gradually shifts to a position where I make a success of his ocurre. the Renaissance to the Impressionand advocates in its place an art that

But the fact that all works of art, tural "products" does not detract

Dubuffet is right to attack the big | browiez has hit the nail on the head. duces the vices of the very people primitive mode. be most abominates - the serdemic honours. He sets himself up strong opinions on everything, and

stow the Art Brut label. "official" modern painter,

gant rhetoric in his paintings. | lished itself'. Taking his cue from the Cubists

The artist does not seek the truth; not speak a word,"

himself. He thinks up poetic gularly thick. is brut (raw), non-cultural and metaphors and tells pretty stories of trees growing. But it is a waste of time. Combrowicz keeps up the from every civilisation, become cul- pressure: "Your way of seeing, feel-

There can be no answer to that. frequent. But it is too late, Goni-

business of culture. But when he ap- | Art Brut is just another form of art peals for a counterculture, he repro- for art's sake, or mannerism in the

After reading this ding-dong epismonisers and the dispensers of aca- tolary battle, everything comes into focus and one begins to understand as a professor and a guru with the uneasy feeling one already had: throughout his life, Dubuffet talked as the only person entitled to be of nothing but art. He was not concerned with history or other peo-The prefaces, the voluminous exple. That this was so is planations of his own work, and the demonstrated with embarrassing tone of his letters from the fifties on- | brutality by his behaviour in the ward are dauntingly serious and second world war. In a previously peremptory. By the seventies, after unpublished text, "Biographie au a series of retrospectives and Pas de Course", written shortly beawards, Dubuffet had become an fore his death in 1985. Dubuffet tells how he managed to thrive as a Contemporary history is full of wine merchant during the German examples of anarchists who turn | Occupation: "There was plenty of into tyrants. Art Brut is no exception money to be made" in those times tion: in a very un-brut manner, of shortages, when "a heart-warm-Dubuffet began to use a very ele- ing climate of fraternisation estab-

He goes on: "I had only a hazy and Klee, he combined an appar- idea of German ideologies, and ently awkward drawing style with attributed exciting poetic virtues to skilfully varied textural effects, pro- them. I thought them capable of reducing first some excellent por- vitalising civic life, of replacing the traits, then attractive, easily enjoyed appalling old sclerosis of the westpaintings with no hint of "anti-zes- ern world with inventive new ideas. I was elated by the notion of the Gombrowicz was the only one of | treasures of the old German soul Dubuffet's correspondents to point | which were very unfamiliar to me out this contradiction, and he did so and shrouded in mystery. With with characteristic ruthlessness: great diligence I began to learn the "What a breed of liars artists are! German language, of which I could

There is not a single word, in the casso. The trouble is that Dubuffet | good picture or a good poem, and | rest of his autobiographical account that suggests even fleetingly that he regretted admiring those "inventive When Gombrowicz goes for the new ideas". One can only suppose ists — which has become "cultural", Jugular, Dubuffet tries to defend that the walls of his studio were sin-

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Application letter and cv to: Country Director, CARE International in Jordan, PO Box 5062, Amman 11183, Jordan. fax: 962 827951. Applications close 28 January, 1996

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For an information pack, tel 0171-278-2832 or fax 0171-837-8155, or write to Marina Afzal, Afghanaid, 292 Pentonville Road, London N1 9NR, UK. Closing date 9 February, Interviews first week of March 1996.

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7:21,202 p.a

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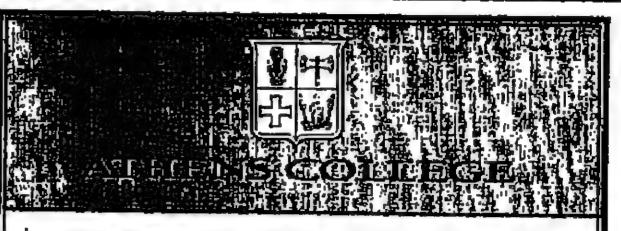


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opposing queen. 13 Ne2 cxd4 14

Kxg7 19 Bxd8 Rfxd8 20 fxe4

dxc4 21 bxc4 Rxd1+ 22 Kxd1

down the white rook and ex-

changes the potentially active

knight before making the obvious

24 Ra1 Bxe2 25 Kxe2 b5

33 Kf3 Kd5 34 Rd3+ Kc4 35

Rd6 Kb3 36 Rxe6 Kxa3 37 Ke2

a5 38 Re5 b4 39 Rb5 b3 40

Kd3 Kb2 41 h4 Ra1 42 Rxf5 a4

No 2403

43 Rxh5 a3 44 Ra5 a2 45 h5

Rh1 46 Kc4 a1Q 47 Resigns.

**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** 

January 14 1998

Suzanne Goldenberg

in Raiasthan meets a lower-caste Indian activist seeking justice

OR THE men who matter in the village of Bhateri, Rajasthan, evil comes in the shape of a stooped and painfully thin woman with a rough woollen shawl over her head.

She is Bhanwari Devi, a government community worker, whose determination to punish the two mer she accuses of raping her has made her a heroine of Indian activists. She has won awards for bravery and led the Indian delegation to last year's Beijing women's conference. But many people feel extremely uncomfortable with a living reminder of the brutality of everyday life for a of Bhanwari Devi. lower-caste village woman.

in November, but she is not dis- say hello in public. Her younger son heartened. A judge in Jaipur acquitted the men of rape, saying it was a crime only committed by teenagers and not by middle-aged village notables of the type she had accused.

"He wasn't using his head," says Ms Devi, adding that she will appeal. But her determination is rivalled by the fierceness of her opponents. The acquittal of the five men accused in connection with the 1992 attack was a signal for her enemies to come into the open. Last month Ms Devi says four villagers attacked her and tried to strangle her.

Vijay Kumar Yadav, the police chief in Bassi 15 miles away, recorded a complaint, but accused Ms Devi of lying, "There is no truth in Bhanwari Devi's past rape case. or in this assault case," he says. "Today you will not find any women being abused in our villages. But be- | ment instructions. The family was | self, then how can I help them?"

HY IS a capital "S" with two

through it used as the dollar sign?

DILL BRYSON, in Made In

America, refers to two theories.

of the pillars of Hercules, wrapped

Spanish pieces of eight. - David

Handley, Whale Beach, Australia

HY ARE dried grapes re-

it have anything to do with "aul-

tana" - the wife of a sultan?

ferred to as sultanas? Does

∧ SA child I loved to eat grapes in

Iran. There were many different

types, which all had their own

names: one particular one was

called Soltani. If some product is re-

ally good then it can be offered to

the sultan, a way of marketing a

product. There are other products

with a similar stamp of approval,

Ebbasi, Chingford

VV vertical lines running

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

The first is that it originated as the | ond world war, Field Marshal

letters "U" and "S" superimposed on | Montgomery favoured a compre-

each other. Bryson explains, how hensive approach to breakfast and

ever, that the symbol itself predates that when the humble squaddies

its application to US dollars, being lined up in the morning some of

used much earlier as a symbol for them used to ask for "the ful

"peso". A more likely explanation, Monty" rather than just, say, egg

he says, is that it is a modified form | and soldiers. Another explanation

around with a scroll, found on old When customers were asked

caste women is not uncommon in reported the assault. "If it is a ques-

Devi had her first child at the age of own daughters off as children, she | the cultural revolution, are not in im- | at me over the wooden rooftons. points out that that was before she | mediate danger of redevelopment. became a sathin. Her youngest, The casualties are the unexceptional Rameshwari, is still studying, one of | old lanes which give the city so only two girls from the village at much of its charm and character. secondary school.

And after all the furore, Ms Devi | these creaking, cracking wooden is still a sathin, although she doubts called in the police - on govern- says. "If I can't get justice for my-

eral houses had disappeared, and the rest were condemned, as I could see by the Chinese character for

from outsiders like these women activists, she is creating terror in the village. That is the terror: the terror

Ms Devi's family has also sufround in her three-year legal battle | village potter, says people hesitate to | ported because of shame, or fear. says he has no friends in the village. But until her troubles started, Ms | tion of their prestige, it is also a Devi used to visit almost every one | question of my respect — why |

of the 200 homes in the village as a grassroots worker, or sathin, in the | says. Rajasthan government's Women's Development Programme. The sathins, literally friends, were recruited a decade ago to pass on information about health care and education to other village women. In 1992, government officials

launched a campaign against child marriage, a custom which is still practised in Rajasthan although outlawed 60 years ago.

One of the richest men in the village was getting ready to marry off his daughter, aged one, to a bride-

A FULL cooked English breakfast is sometimes

referred to as "the full Monty".

IT IS held by some that in the sec-

relates to Montague Burton, a tailor.

whether they wanted a two or three-

Monty". This also explains why the

saying is often used in relation to

items other than breakfast: - Roger

HE WORD "cleave" has two

opposite meanings - either

to stick together or split apart.

Are there any other words that

two completely opposite mean-

do the same thing?

son, Brescia, Italy

Williams, Beeston, Nottingham

Bhanwari Devi, a symbol of the brutality of life for a lower-caste village woman, has emerged as a heroine for activists PHOTO. A JAIETLY

> Mohan Lal were attacked and and she was raped by two of them.

narrow street lined with ramshackle around under the eaves of their houses, chatting, smoking and playing cards. Small shops sold sweets and cigarettes and a little teahouse spilled its guests and furniture on to the paving outside. It was a peaceful place to sit and think. One week later I returned to find

"demolish" which was chalked up cause Bhanwari Devi is taking help | outraged. Soon after, Ms Devi and | like a sign of hopeless disease on the doors of the remaining buildbeaten by five men of the village. ings. Day by day, house by house the street slipped away and the people I had chatted to were shunted Activists say the rape of loweraway to modern flats in the suburbs. Bhanwari Devi lost the latest fered. Her husband, Mohan Lal, the villages but generally goes unre- Weeks later, there was nothing left, just a huge trench like a gash But Ms Devi defied tradition, and through the heart of the city. The same thing is happening in

should I keep my mouth shut?" she She has become a symbol of empowerment, and of a new breed of a modern metropolis within 10 Indian activist. Married at an age so young she cannot remember. Ms | which survived after Chairman

HYDO the cockroaches in

**W** our bathroom always die on

D while crossing the ceiling. —

E L Richardson, Stratford, Ontario.

Demolition fever **IUST AFTER** I arrived in and small businesses — tailors Chengdu I went exploring doing piecework on manual sewing along the river and found a long | machines, shoemenders, vendors of bamboo and basketware. There are wooden houses, meandering its way | tiny teahouses where old people towards the centre of the city. Tables | gather in the afternoons to play and hear traditional Sichuan opera. Many of these have already disappeared, the people who used to run them lost in concrete high-rises or the outskirts of the city. There's real likelihood that Chengdu's fa bled teahouse culture will all but vanish under the onslaught, leaving only a few large and famous establishments to pay lip service to a trathe street being demolished. Sev- dition that once flourished in every

> As the demolition crews move in, the residents hang around for a while, as if nothing has happened. The lazy sprawl of card tables and bamboo chairs simply spreads out into the new clearings, and people sit playing mah-jong on the scattered heap of rubble that was someone's home the day before.

THE PACE of development is astonishing: whole neighbourhoods are razed to the many of the old neighbourhoods ground in a couple of weeks. Among the winding streets, a gleaming futuristic city is springing ment regards them as backward and is intent on demolishing the lot. The up by stealth. Sometimes I sit in a official plan is to build Chengdu into peaceful teahouse in a leafy alley, sipping tea and nibbling wateryears. The city's temples, the ones melon seeds, lost in the mellow atmosphere of cards and idle Mao's red guards blasted the old conversation, only to glance up and 13 or 14. Although she married her | viceroy's palace to smithereens in | find an immense skyscraper leering

Life in Chengdu at the moment has the bewildering quality of a strange dream in which familiar places appear changed out of all recognition — unmistakable in their I question my sentimentality for identity and yet strangely unknown. Where was that restaurant I ate at houses. To be honest, I wouldn't groom, aged two. When he failed to she can be as effective as before. "I like to live in one. They are small last month? I've followed all the usual listen to Ms Devi's entreaties, she am full of apprehension now," she and cramped, a patchwork of wood streets to get there and yet I can't and hardboard with newspaper | find the right junction. Slowly I restuffed in the cracks to fend off alise, almost incredulous, that this is mosquitoes or the damp winter air. | the right junction, that this vast clear-And there are no private lavatories | ing of dust and mess is the place - only the white-tiled public faciliwhere four narrow streets once met. It happens all the time. Landmarks But it's not just the houses which by which I used to navigate just disare being swept away in the frenzy | appear, new gateways spring up in alof development. It's a way of life. | leys along which I used to cycle for "good" and "wicked" for "excel- | Chengdu is famed for its teahouses | without interruption. In one year and its tiny restaurants serving fam- many of my favourite places have ily specialities. Its winding back- vanished. I'm almost afraid of what

per, but then there was a movement

to my left and there was a golden

### lent". Arthur Robinson. Versoix.

streets are full of dumpling shops I the new year will bring.

ties a little way down the street.

across Chengdu. The local govern-

# A Country Diary

ECAUSE they lost their footing | Ray Collier

piece suit, those who wanted a waistcoat said they wanted "the full Any answers? / / /HAT is a continent? Is V V Europe a continent or just the western part of the Aslan landmass? - Geoff Schrader,

Adelaide, South Australia

// /HY do human male voices V V "break" at puberty? Do other mammals exhibit this characteristic? - A Adcock, Oxford

TO TAKE care of someone" has Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardlan.co.uk, faxed to ings as is amply illustrated in the 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted such as sultani kebab. — Feridum film Pulp Fiction. — Michael Robert to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Ferringdon Road, London EC1M 6HQ.

TRATHDEARN: Sightings of eagle hunting over the open moorgolden eagles are more often | land and grassland. It was an adult. than not by sheer chance and such | and the broad wings with the priwas the case last month when I had maries jutted out like fingers as gone into a strath to look for wild | circled, slowly drifting away to the goats and mountain hares. I had hillside. It was one of those sightseen nothing on the seven-mile | ings that makes the hairs on the drive up the strath because the low | back of my head stand up, which is winter sun reflected off the bonnet of the car as I drove through iced The goats were farther down the surface water. Parking on the bank | strath - grazing amidst the scree of the River Findhorn, I used both | - and the tribe of 14 consisted of binoculars and telescope to try to two old billies and nannies with last find goats and mountain hares, all to year's kids. The oldest billy was silno avail. The goats could easily have very and black and, judging by the been elsewhere on the steep slopes, I ridges on the horns, it was about partly covered with scree, but there | eight years old. As for the mountain should have been mountain hares,

often the case on seeing such a bird hares, it took a great deal of search and, as the snow only lay on the ling before I found one high on the hillside. Normally this strath has high tops, they would have been conspicuous in their white winter hundreds of mountain hares and the coats. I walked to the nearby bridge sighting of only one must mean that to listen for the winter song of a dip- the population has slumped.

Head bangers

### Colin Luckhurst

assistant shepherd to the lady shepherdess's flock of rare breed sheep here at The Droppings, of the field), that had been kept sepathe biggest single mistake I ever rately from Donald, with his mother and charged. The echoes of head-tomade came about as light levels | and other ewes through the summer | head combat resounded. sank in November and tupping time | months. He had not been worth takwas upon us.

Soays - primitive sheep, native to | quality of Soay meat, experience the St Kilda group of islands, far out in the Atlantic beyond the Hebrides, that were evacuated of their human population in the 1930s — and a larger flock of Black Welsh Mountain sheep.

Soays are attractive. coloured, deer-like sheep, very nervous and wary, and quite unlike the commercial white woollies of the serious farmer. From their remote island background they have the ability to pick a living from a few blades of grass on a bleak mountainside, but ours were rather spoiled on lush lowland pasture.

Their ram, Donald, was a fine, put back into this field the ram from yet another conquest. His aggressive specimen, well horned. lamb, with his mother, that had malevolent little eyes peered up at strong and reminiscent of a wee been kept apart from Donald for us when we finally detained him by Glaswegian head banger but without the charm. One year we had a good

And in the autumn we still had one came in like a tank at his son. A nutram lamb, Houdini (so called be- ting contest, of potentially fatal outcause he kept escaping the confines ing to the butcher's because, despite At the time we had one flock of all the talk about the low cholesterol taught that he would fetch no more

than £8 top whack at auction. Tupping time, especially if you have more than one breed, requires careful thought and a strategically secure separation if unfortunate crosses are to be avoided - the Black Welsh Mountain ewes we had at the time had occasionally been tupped by Donald.

Donald from getting out to the ewes some months.

spring crop of Soay lambs — beauti- | closed the gate all hell broke loose. ful fawn-like creatures when tiny. Donald, sensing a sexual challenge, come, ensued. The ram lamb faced up to his father, lowered his head,

on hand to sort out my foolish error. And we needed to because Donald would eventually, on body weight alone, have killed his son in his determination to establish dominance. We him away even though he was giving a good account of himself in these shuddering charges.

Donald was always a problem. remember one occasion, again at tupping time, when he could smell ewes in season on the land below For the Soays that year we had us. He was either over or through arranged a field surrounded by the fence in record time and, with solid post and rail fencing, high | me in pursuit, was achieving sexual enough to be secure and to prevent | congress with one ewe after another | as I chased after him. Three people in season close by. The mistake I | and a roll of wire were needed to ap-We had Soays for some years. | made was that, without thinking, I | prehend Donald and separate him the horns as if to say, "You would About 30 seconds after I had I spoll the fun, wouldn't you?"

giant IBM mainframe Deep Blue, Ra4 29 h3 h5 30 g3 f5 31 Rb3 the successor to Deep Thought, Kf6 32 Rc3 Ke5 After stopping which beat several top grandmas- any serious white activity or counters in the late eighties early this | terplay, Kasparov infiltrates his king year. But although computers are to mop up the a3 pawn and create a still improving, Kasparov believes they can be outfoxed by controlled strategic play and avoiding positions

self by superior calculation. Programmers are finding some tough obstacles to further big advances. In the first flush of enthusiasm after Genius and Fritz beat Fortunately, there were three of us | Kasparov in 1994, computer specialists believed that the days of human now it looks as if machines are stronger at blitz, humans at classical slowplay time rates, while in rapid eventually caught the lamb and took games of 25 minutes duration hu-

> Pentium Fritz 4-Garry Kasparov, first game

mans are fighting back.

Chess Leonard Barden

London last month when he scored

human was in less danger than in

August 1994, when he lost to Ge-

May 1995, when he had a lost posi-

tion before winning a return

ons and machines are here to stay,

where the machine can impose

Contests between world champi-

yet by a PC, the number-one Bxd8 Nxc3.

ARRY KASPAROV beat off an- | and good rule that rooks are well other robotic challenger in developed on the same file as the

1.5-0.5 against Fritz 4, the 1995 | Qxd4 If 14 exd4 d5. Ne5 15 b3

world computer champion running | Nxd3+ 16 Qxd3 d5 17 Qc3

on a Pentium processor. Though Ne4! Simplifying into a won

the machine can analyse at 172,000 | endgame. 18 Qxg7+ Spectacular,

positions per second, the fastest but strategically no better than 18

nius 2 in the Intel Grand Prix, or in | Rxc4 23 Kd2 Ra4! Kasparov ties

and Kasparov is due to face the | 26 Rb1 a6 27 Rb3 Rxe4 28 Rc3

capture at e4.

new queen.

1 d4 Nf6 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 Bb4 The strategic Nimzo-Indian is more suited to this occasion than Kasparov's normal complex King's Indian g6 and Bg7. 4 Qc2 0-0 5 a3 Bxc3+ 6 Qxc3 b6 7 Bg5

... 8 e3 d6 9 f3 ... so the machine counters what it perceives as the threat Bxg2. The move had to stand, giving Kasparov an early advantage.

Igor Bondarevsky-Anatoly Ufimtsev, USSR 1936. White (to play) is two pawns down and about to lose a Pentium's operator keyed in Bb7 | third. How, if at all, can be save the

No 2402: is a draw: 1 h8Q Rh2+ 2 Kg5 Rxh8 3 g7+ Kxg7 4 f6+ when Nbd7 10 Bd3 h6 11 Bh4 c5 | Kf8 stalemates White and Kh7 5 12 Rd1 Rc8 following the simple | Kh5 stalemates Black.

how you would have fared:

cards in diamonds for the moment. tion do you take?

West passed and North bid four | ruffed by South. You are at the crossno trumps, asking Cronier to select. the final contract. Philippe bid five

¥A974 ♦ 852 ♣Q 1042 **♣** None ♥K65

North East ANT

Take a moment to form your initial and played a heart to the ace. He led Cronler chose to double, which. the eight of diamonds from dummy, East won and played a fourth heart,

three spades rather than two spades.

This meant that West had four clubs, so the obvious line of crossing to the queen of clubs to repeat the trump finesse would lead to defeat, since West would have a club trick at the finish. This was the full deal:

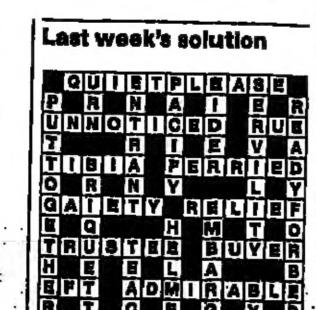
North ¥A974 ♣Q1042 West ♠ AKQ 1053 **♣**J865 South ♠ None ♦ KJ 10964 **♣**AK73 ::

REDHOTPOKER diamonds, and all passed. West led three trumps and West a singleton. his contract. Bien joué, indeed

Quick crossword no. 296

2 Leg cover (8) 4 Fishing hawk (6) violinist (7-3)

18 Goad (4) 19 Hero (4)



# Bridge Zia Mahmood

of the world's bridge writers, it was | Frenchman: this deal from the European Pairs Championship, Philippe Cronier, the declarer, is a French international player and one of the nicest people in top-level bridge; take his hand as South at love-all and see

**◆**-- ♥K65 ◆KJ10964 **◆**AK73

You open the bidding with the obvious one diamond - but you are | South playing the French style of five-card majors and a strong no trump, so Double you do not promise more than three 50 West makes a weak jump overcall of two spades, your partner passes and plan before discovering Cronier's line East jumps to four spades. What ac- of play. South ruffed the opening lead

was primarily for takeout. This was | which East took with the ace. East an aggressive action facing a part- led the queen of hearts, which ner who could not act over two | Cronier won with the king as West spades, but it is important not to go | followed. Now Cronier led his third quietly at pairs when you have a dis- heart, on which West showed out.

// /HAT WAS the best-played | the king of spades, and this was the | West had shown up with a doubleton V hand of 1995? In the opinion problem that confronted the

♦ KJ 10964 ◆AK73

roads; how do you continue? : It seemed clear that East had heart, and presumably had six spades for his initial overcall - with seven, he would probably have bid

♥QJ103

After ruffing the fourth round of hearts, Cronier led a small club to dummy's ten! Then he took the finesse against East's queen of diamonds, drew trumps and claimed

Across Seed covering (4) 3 Contrary -Exhibit (4) 9 Unmarried

> device (6) 17 Crop watering (10) 20 Hair-splitting (8) 21 Abominable

# 23 Cowshed (4)

Be uncertain --hold back (8)

5 Brilliant teenage Estimate speed (4)

Nobleman (4)

area (5,5)\*

10 Shooting practice

. ... . . .

### woman (8) 11 Relax! (4,2,4) 14 Confused mass (6) 15 Picture-taking Snowman (4) 22 Eased (8)

12 Childbirth (8) 13 Disease ill-humour (8) 16 God-like (6)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Derek Malcolm

January 14 1998

# But where has all the danger gone?

Canada's ravishing Cirque du Soleil is too seamlessly beautiful for legendary ring-master Gerry Cottle

WE BEEN a circus fan since I | Saltimbanco is a dream-like, magfor the past 24 years. Last and images; a true — and truly ravmonth, I spent 10 days touring ishing - spectacle. The five-piece Europe, during which I watched 14 | band creates an eerie soundtrack performances by 14 separate cir- that even boasts its own unique lan-

and memorable acts, including two is a perfect individual art-work. tremendously sharp Russian | Cirque du Soleil has attracted some clowns, Dik and Dok, an outstand- of the world's most brilliant pering springboard act from a troupe | formers who make the impossible called the Pouzanovs, and a brilliant look effortless within a set-up which Spanish juggler, decked out like a is exquisitely styled, designed and bullfighter, called Manuel Alvarez. I operated. remember something specific about every one of the 14 shows that I saw. Every one, that is, except Cirque du Soleil.

credible, extravagant, exquisite and tional circuses, the audience is has been hailed as one of the great- always made aware — whether it's est circuses the world has ever true or not — that there is an edge seen. But there's one thing that the of danger. company's show, Saltimbanco, stand out for their personality, their daring, or even for their over-the-top tackiness.

This is because Cirque du Soleil is an ensemble troupe; a troupe which buys in the very best physical circus skills (usually Russian or Chinese), and exploits them within a format which is a cocktail of performance art, theatre, dance and the kind of hi-tech effects you'd expect from a rock show or a pop video. And central to Cirque's style is the anonymity of the performers, hidden behind fantastic masks, and gloriously designed body-stockings.

I saw Cirque du Soleil in their massive touring tent in Düsseldorf. This month they are at London's Royal Albert Hall.

A DISTINGUISHED critic once

suggested that performances

sical masterpieces should be ra-

tioned, so their unique qualities

Once upon a time a cycle of the

Beethoven quartets in the concert

hall was a rare event, but this Janu-

ary London concert-goers have the

cycles within the space of three

weeks. At the end of the month on

the South Bank, the American

There is no danger, with the Lind-

quartet active today that more faith-

quartet's multiple moods, presents

and refuses to impose a glib stereo-

type on the music for the sake of

Lindsay is not always a comfortable

on their six-concert pilgrimage.

CHAMBER MUSIC

might be preserved.

**Andrew Clements** 

Familiarity breeds content

possibility of hearing two complete | but the response was not quite as

Emerson Quartet begin their sur- Each of the Lindsay's concerts in-

vey, and last week in the Wigmore | cludes one of the late quartets -

say, of familiarity diminishing the the substitute finale. The journey

impact of these extraordinary from the world of Op 18, with its orl-

works. There is no other string | gins in the works of Haydn and |

fully and honestly responds to the universe, was a startling one, and

their world more comprehensively | wonder - dappled with the tiniest

cosmetic effect. Listening to the eloquent lines in the slower sec-

experience — there are surface im Thanksgiving laid out in a sequence

perfections in their playing - but of austerely sculpted paragraphs.

never in doubt

was eight, and a circus owner | ical kaleidoscope of colour, music guage, the costumes are a delight. I saw some marvellous, exotic | and each performer's face make-up

And this really is the point where Cirque and I diverge in our view. These guys are just too good. The appearance of effortlessness is cen-Canada's Cirque du Soleil is in- tral to Saltimbanco. In more tradi-

When I saw the Pouzanovs, for by bouncing off a springboard on a pogo stick.

I didn't think it was safe and I | sexiness. didn't think he'd do it. And I've seen but that's what I felt, and that's what | what they set out to do. many of us go to the circus to feel.

the honesty and musical sense are THEATRE

work, and that was the piece that | ERR is the best antidote to

opened this first concert. The Quar- tinsel you could hope to

number of H64, is Beethoven's own | Exchange's intellectual preten-

twice, the first time ending with the | Hersov and Emil Wolk, that

Their project includes not just the

familiar 16 quartets but an extra

arrangement of his F major Piano

Sonata Op 14 no 1. It is a seamless

piece of retailoring, in which the

translations from keyboard figura-

tion to string articulation have been

joined invisibly. It was deftly played,

immediately inventive as it might be.

for the A minor Quartet Op 132.

Grosse Fuge, the second time with

Mozart, to this totally new musical

their playing registered its sense of

expressive nudges and promptings

in the faster music, drawn in fine,

tions, and with the great Hymn o

Hall the Lindsay Quartet started out | they will play the B flat Op 130 | this show, directed by Gregory

The major effort was being saved

and recordings of the supreme mu- tet in F major, with the catalogue find. The Manchester Royal



doesn't do, It doesn't provide you example, one of the performers did Air and graceful . . . Cirque du Soleil blends performance art, a double somersault into the ring — | theatre and hi-tech arena rock 'n' roll PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

Classic clowning around

something more basic still, a kind of | evolving workl of the big top? Will |

mid-air simultaneously, and I've rather than a competitive impetus, thought there's no way they'd make | and so the thrill is in the perfection of it to the end of the routine. Now that | the spectacle, and not in the adrenamay be because I'm a naive, gullible | lin rush of wondering whether or not fool — for all my years in circus — | individual performers will achieve

The circus was once denigrated Circus has always appealed be- for taming animals. Cirque du sophistication will be taken up elsccause of the mixture of fear and fool- Soleil has tamed performers into where. But a wholesale revolution high-wire acts, contrasted with the semble spectacle. Does this repre- possible. Perfection of this sort stupid slapstick antics of clowns, sent the future for circus or is it simply costs too much to create. and in both areas there's a rough- just a one-off, delightful, and inde- And, anyway, there will always be edged, raw, competitive energy, and finable oddity within the ever- more to circus than perfection.

Robin Thornber

sions are so hyped that the com-

uncomfortable letting its hair

down. This time they've got it

stage version of the Marx

Animal Crackers, which runs

until February 3, claims to be a

Brothers' film, satirising pre-war

New York high society. But as it

Ben Keaton gives a glorious

catching his deadpan delivery of

pomposity-puncturing one-lin-

cluded wicked ad-libbing when

tious financier and art fancier)

What stole the show for me

mime as the Professor — classi-

was Toby Sedgwick's sublime

cal, mute clowning at the inter-

James Smith (playing the preten-

ers. On the first night this in-

impersonation of Groucho.

contains a spoof Riverdance I

suspect there are elements to

weren't in the original.

fumbled his lines.

pany sometimes seems

circus take the shape of ever-more Cirque du Soleil is certainly sen- sophisticated "rock 'n' roll meets Chinese flying trapeze teams with sual, but it's neither rough-edged nor performance art" road-shows, or three performers somersaulting in raw. It depends on a collaborative will spit and sawdust circus — and all the values that suggests -- con-

national level of a Charlic Cairoli

With his expressively rubber

face, poacher's-pocket coat and

cartoon-strip movement, his was

timeless physical comedy at its

source of all the best comedy of

ity of Hancock to the surrealism

In any other company Joseph

of the Goons and Mr Bean.

Alessi's Italianate musician

would have been outstanding.

But here the quality runs right

through, from the romantic duo

(Sarah Redmond as operatic in-

lover) to the chorus troupe "of a

Beautifully designed by David

Short and lit by Vince Herbert,

the show combines this com-

pany's gift for elegant classics

grotesque physical humour.

with Emil Wolk's outrageously

peal to the younger audiences

reaching, but there's something

the Royal Exchange is at last

rical skill is overwhelming .-

approaching a justification for

the company's claim to be the

national theatre of the North.

The irony and dry wit will ap-

genue, Rhashan Stone as her

thousand disguises".

very best — consummate com-

media dell' arte. Here is the

or Marcel Marceau.

My guess is neither. Just as the innovations of such originals as Archaos have permeated the wider circus world — in a diluted form — so some elements of Cirque du Soleil's ishness. There's the terror of units in a seamlessly beautiful en- along Cirque's lines would be im- baby, I'm on my way," said the

scene was greeted by whoops, cheers and laughter.

hand," muttered Anita Bonner, at after winning a chunky alimony settlement. "She did the right thing honey," said Anita's husband

The Union Station cinema has become used to an audienceparticipation tradition among the mainly black community it serves. A sign headlined "Yakety Yakl" reminds patrons of the "two shushes" rule - be warned over noise twice

for everyone and the sheer theating one men-bashing session. Actually, the list went on, but the rest was inaudible - swamped by the noise of laughter, high-fives and cheers.

Women tell it like it is

Except this was not a church, but

The overwhelmingly black audimovie. It's a social phenomenon.

African-American women have ton last October.

husband's BMW with his suits. doused it in petrol and torched the lot. His crime: he had just told

Never for a moment was the cir-

mitted to a rapid, no-foreplay clinch,

Actress Lela Rochon has said she liked making the film because, for

MOVIE MANIA Jonathan Freedland

I / / HITNEY Houston is not a VV preacher, though she seemed like one. Each time she spoke, her audience cried out in response, "That's right," they chorused, like a congregation at one of Washing ton's countless black churches "Hmm-hmm, say it girl."

a cinema. And Whitney Houston was not preaching, but on screen in the first smash hit of 1996: Waiting To Exhale, the movie version of g novel about four black professional women and their search for the right man.

ence at Washington's Union Station cinema was proof that, since opening as the number one film in America, Waiting is no longer a mere

hailed the film as "our Million Man March" — their unswer to the allmale black rally that filled Washing-

"Go. girll" cried the audience is unison, when Bernadine, played by Angela Bassett, filled her cheating Bernadine he was leaving her - for

ema silent. "Hal-lo." the audience called as love interest Wesley Snipes came into view. "Swing, girl," they urged as portly Gloria wiggled her way past a new suitor. When Whitney Houston was sub-

"I wouldn't shake that man's

Bernadine made peace with her ex

our generation, from the morbidand you're out.

But Waiting To Exhale is a special case. "You can relate to it," said Sarah Jones, a secretary at the Department of Commerce. "You've thought it before, and it's like, finally someone said it."

once, black women were not shown as "hookers, strippers and on welfare". Critics have attacked the film and the source novel for damning portrayals of black men, but the Washington crowd had no problem with the view that relationships with married men or crack-heads are doomed. "They're behind bars, they've got bad credit, they want white women, they're ugly, and they've got little dicks that can't fuck," say the four characters dur-

Mann's Manhunter, barely survive on home territory and have to

Perhaps it is the combination Brad Pitt and Morgan Freeman a thruster who thinks he knows all the answers, the other an almost burnt out veteran who knows he doesn't - that accounts for its success.

Kevin Walker's story gradually elucidates — this killer has a working acquaintance with Dante's Divine Connedy and bases his murders on the seven deadly sins of gluttony, avarice, sloth, lust, pride, envy and

than content, and suffers from that ness. It is, like Silence Of The Lambs, a genuine original which, if it leaves a brackish taste in the mouth, nevertheless keeps you on the edge of your seat.

Kingdom lasts more than four ling Cyrano De Bergerac was | woman who feeds him and then dis- | be continued . . . "

shooting, more than 100 sets and al- give her best against an admittedly

mance, this is a story where nothing | David Fincher's Seven, an urban | lift shaft. much happens. Its two star-crossed | thriller set in New York which | lovers never consummate their mu- paints the city as a wet, windy and tual passion, except perhaps in a dilapidated hell-hole in which the the sharpness of the characterisamassage scene in which one cures | physical darkness mirrors the mind- | tion. Von Trier keeps several plot the other of the ravages of cholera. set of the twisted serial killer its cop threads unfurling with devillsh wit, This is a contemporary film noir style, which grounds the narrative

gather their main plaudits abroad.

As likely, it's the twist Andrew

Be warned: Lars von Trier's The hours, by the end of which your jaw | dictatorship at the age of four, when will be trailing on the ground in dis- his father was imprisoned in a cona lynch mob who suspect him of poi- belief, writes Jonathan Romney. centration camp within months of soning a well. Hiding in an appar- You're left wanting more, but von | Hitler's rise to power. ently empty house, he comes across | Trier signs off with an outrageous EAN-PAUL Rappeneau's bust- Juliette Binoche's young married cliffhanger finale and the words To 1951 and, after some years as a

He meets her again, only to learn as a Danish TV series, has all the the end of the 1950s. His first play, the most successful European films | that she is married and searching | july morbidity you expect from the | Der Lohndrucker, was based on the of recent years. That, however, is for her husband, a much older man. I new school of hospital soap. These | story of Hans Garbe, a heroic East nothing compared with the risk | The hussar follows her and the pair | days the patient always dies, trans- | German bricklayer who risked his taken with his latest film. The survive everything fate can throw at plant hearts tend to get used as foot- life repairing a red-hot blast furnace balls, and the scalpel is usually left | in order to keep his factory's output The film is gorgeous to look at, a somewhere extremely inconveever made. Will this romantic his- bit like a romanticised and Euro- nient. But we've never seen chaos torical epic, set in Provence in the peanised Western. But though sup- quite like it's done in The Kingdom 1830s and culled from Jean Giono's posed to be more mature than her | - there's a phantom ambulance 1950s novel, justify its 130 days of escort, it is difficult for Binoche to whizzing round the streets of Copenhagen, two slavering hellmost 1,000 specially made cos- decorative block of wood who has | hounds, and the perenially sinister tumes? It seems unlikely. One of the | to suggest dash, gallantry and utter | Udo Kier lurking on the sidelines. dedication as well as burgeoning | This is the Cold Comfort Farm of love, but can't really manage more | hospital soap, not so much a matter of something rotten in the state of

keeps The Kingdom engrossing is but films it all in a grainy vérité to Provence, where he finds the dis- | and, amazingly, audiences have | excess in an incongruous realism.

# taken to it in the United States. Generally, such films, like Michael Brecht's inheritance

**OBITUARY** Heiner Müller

EINER MÜLLER, who has died of cancer aged 66, was the most influential German playwright since Bertolt Brecht. A committed Marxist and a passionate humanist who rejected every form of ideological rigidity, he pursued in his work a socialist experiment in his native East Germany and of the barbarity

Although the most widely performed playwright in both Germanies during the 1980s, his complex, highly unconventional plays were audiences. The East German authorcal pessimist" and banned most of his work for more than two decades.

Born into a family of Social Democrats in Saxony, Mtiller first experienced the reality of life under a

clerk and a journalist, joined Brecht The Kingdom, which started life at the Berliner Ensemble towards

propagandist interpretation of the story by questioning Garbe's motivation. Der Lohndrucker became the target of a party campaign against politically unreliable drama a year later and disappeared from the East German repertoire until 1988.

Müller's increasing disillusionment with state socialism did notli-Denmark as something nasty in the | ing to blunt his contempt for the capitalist alternative, which he saw Amid all the occult japery, what as an oppressive and ultimately selfdestructive system of barbarism. His plays became increasingly ex-

> pensing with plot and dialogue altogether in favour of lengthy

freely in the West during the 1980s, he continued to live in his untidy, rambling flat overlooking the East Berlin zoo where he would sit con tentedly amidst the chaos, peering through thick glasses and puffing on a huge cigar as he worked his way through his daily bottle o Johnnie Walker Black Label.

After the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, he seized every opportunity to condemn what he saw as the economic colonisation of the former East Germany by the West.

The last three years of his life were spent back in the cradle of his theatrical career, Brecht's Berliner Ensemble. Originally part of a fivestrong team of artistic directors often greeted with bewilderment by Müller assumed complete control last year after his west German co-



vival of fascism by producing bleak. violent plays. Müller described the relationship between himself and Zadek as a mirror-image of the experience of German reunification. The more we got to know about each other, the less we wanted to know each other." he said.

**Denis Staunton** 

Heiner Müller, dramatist, born January 9, 1929; died December Although he was allowed to travel | 30, 1995

# Snack-happy in Graceland

Damage limitation . . . Juliette Binoche in The Horseman On The Roof

Riders of the storm

U thought a considerable risk to appears.

Horseman on the Roof, probably | them.

make but turned out to be one of

the most expensive French film

main reasons is that, unlike Cyrano,

where you simply have to plough

The massager is Olivier Martinez

as a young Italian hussar who flees

through a busy plot and watch

Gérard Depardieu's star perfor-

TELEVISION

Nancy Banks-Smith

THE BURGER and the King (BBC2) made me think of Henry VIII who exploded. After death, naturally. In life it would have caused comment.

After Elvis's death the medical investigator said. "Mr Presley underwent his terminal event while he was on the commode. lils colon was impacted with a clay-like substance which would have made it difficult, if not impossible, to have a bowel movement." You can only turn your. whitening face to the wall.

Presley ate until he was shrouded in his own suet. He once flew to Denver, ordered 22 lorpedo sandwiches at 42,000 calories a time and flew home without leaving his jet. His

lavourite food was cheeseburgers and fried peanut butter and banana sandwiches. As he was carried into the Memphis funeral home by three undertakers in-

stead of the usual two, a sign glowed in the night, Burger King, 99 cents. I was talking to Conway Twitty once and noticed at dreamy, luminous look steal over his face. What, I asked hopefully, was he thinking about? Blackeyed peas, he said simply. We

than a fraction of each.

buddies chase.

It never rains but it pours in

ease sweeping the countryside and

were in the Savoy. Elvis had been a hungry child in Tupelo, Mississippi, during the depression. In Tupelo they ate pigs' ears, trotters, chicken feet called chitlins, squirrel; possum. "You'd eat anything that !.. didn't eat you," said the old man in the stetson tucking into his fried squirrel. Elvis used to eat with his hands. His pet chimp, which ate with them, was thought to have pretty good table man-in ners. For Graceland.

Like Howard Hughes, his obsession was fed by his own household. When he was in hospital on a strict diet, his nurse made him banana puddings with meringue topping. Mary, his cook at Graceland, amuggled in hot dogs on his orders at the state almost certainly betide at the least the least state of the least the least state of the le

The Peacock Spring (BBC1) and Heartstones (Meridian) had an odd family resemblance. Decorative, rich, slow-growing stories, each with a father, his mistress and his two young The first sentence of

Heartstones by Ruth Rendell-

"I was never close to my mother

so at didn't occur to me at the

time she might have been poisoned" - could not be faulted but, after that, the story went slack. I found I was admiring the intensity of Emily Mortimer (daughter of John Mortimer) and, far more ominous, the colour of the paint on the stairs. The Peacock Spring by Rumer Godden was the one to choose. It had all the expected Indian colour and a vividly shrill performance from Jennifer Hall

(eerily like her mother, Leslie Caron) as a whip-wielding. exotically neurotic, wicked step mother, a resistant programment Both plays are an object in lesson in naming daughters. Do not call your child Haleyon, divi Elvira or Despina. Woe will out

Leicester University

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THE QUEEN'S!

ANNIVERSARY PRIZES

1994

1 24 m

# All-rounder king

David Horspool

King Alfred the Great by Alfred P Smyth Oxford 744pp £25

Alfred the Great by David Sturdy Constable 268pp £18.95

■ N 1899, a thousand years after Alfred the Great's death, England was in the grip of Alfred mania. Statues were erected, books written, and Queen Victoria and Prince Albert had even named their | the mythical as well as the historical son after the hero-king. But the Victorians were not the originators of known myth of all - the cakes. Althe Alfred myth. Nearly every pass- fred, on the run from the Vikings in ing century since 899 has seen an- | Somerset, before he mustered his other accretion to his legend, since | army for the last-ditch victory at the 11th century story of the cakes. It is only in our own time that Alfred has become the almost exclusive property of historians and school oven. Although David Sturdy airily children. Following the first world war, Alfred's Teutonic roots made | stodgy mixture of undigested source him less palatable to the public.

monumental and polemical biogra- cident from a great epic poem", it is phy demonstrates that not many of usually accepted as a fable. the facts behind the legend are uncontested. But few dispute the core his winning a reading competition of the story, as witnessed by the against his brothers as a boy, have Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Alfred's | been more readily accepted. It is own writings. Most crucially, he saw | their source, and the trustworthi- | life) and on Asser's many errors and | likely to have paid off a largely intact off a Viking force which threatened | ness of it, which is the origin of a bitto wipe out Anglo-Saxon rule in l ter dispute surrounding Smyth's England. By the time the Vikings | book. These stories come from a | him to present a more convincing picturned their attentions to Wessex. Life of King Alfred reputedly written Alfred's homeland, while he was during his lifetime, by Bishop Asser still a boy, they had killed the rulers of Sherborne, which has been of Alfred as chronically ill, first with of two of the three other major king- highly valued as a unique contemdoms in ninth century England. So | porary life of an Anglo-Saxon king. as well as his political survival when, as king, he at last won a con- general distrust of the hagiographi-

fred can never have expected to in- | the framework of a secular saint's | Edington, Smyth argues, Alfred is | "truly a great king".

herit the crown of Wessex, despite the indications in the Chronicle that he was his father's favourite. But he took advantage of the bad luck of his elder brothers by ensuring that his offspring were more likely to inherit than theirs. Largely as a result of these precautions, it was under the House of Alfred that England was united. This legacy must have played an important part in his appeal to the Victorians, who liked to think that the centre of their empire had an ancient pedigree.

Both Smyth and Sturdy take on Alfred, and both discuss the best Edington, took refuge with a swineherd, whose wife scolded him for neglecting the burning loaves in the proposes, in a book which is often a material and speculation, that the His namesake Alfred Smyth's story "must be the last echo of an in-

Other stories, however, such as

forgery. His attack is based on a



Alfred: no longer a saint but still a great medieval king

Smyth's dismissal of Asser allows ture of an early medieval king. He reiects, for example, Asser's description piles, and then with "another more severe illness" which was supposed boar against the Danes.

Smyth's Alfred, moreover, not vincing victory at Edington in 878. cal scheme of the work (which only fights the Danes, he negotiates that for him, even if Alfred is no for aye-aye, of which some 20 re-As the youngest of live sons, All seems to bend the narrative to fit with them; even after the victory at longer the saint in Asser, he remains

Viking force. And as well as being a spreader of the Christian message, he was willing to profit from the devastation wreaked on the Church by the Viking invasions. This Alfred is a medieval "all-rounder" but he is particularly admired as a scholarmonarch. Smyth's detailed and pug-Smyth argues persuasively that to have plagued him all through the naciously argued book shows a Alfred was fighting for his physical | Asser's Life is an early 11th century | time when he was fighting like a wild | conception of scholarship as a battle- | and hit with small sticks, to 'shift' field similar to the "killing grounds" | the fat in the adipose tissue"), myrof the Viking wars. It is no wonder | ind blood sausage recipes, a recipe

> Beatles' Records and the The conflict over drink appears | Sixties, by ian Macdonald

new single, the homage of Oasis, sible stabs at the band's state of No other book traces the arc of their career with anything approaching valuable criticism. Did the Beatles ion? What "was" all the fuss about? tions and more, honestly and rigorously; Macdonald combines musical analysis and acute historical aware

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Nicholas Lezard

**Paperbacks** 

Syrens, £2,99)

Sylvie, by Gerard de Nerval. trs Richard Sieburth (Penguin

BSOLUTELY exquisite novella, which, in so far as this is remotely possible or plausible, does in 60 pages what A La Recherché does at considerably greater length (Proust himself acknowledged this as one of his inspirations). A story of nostalgia, regret, lost love, intricately wrought and profoundly mov-ing. "Illusions fall away one after another like the husks of a fruit, and that fruit is experience."

All the Trouble in the World, by P J O'Rourke (Picador, 26.99)

CUBTITLE: "The lighter side of famine, pestilence, destruction and death." You're meant, of course, not to take offence at this, because the last thing you want to be accused of is having no sense of humour. This is a string of O'Rourke's "pensées" on the state of the world. affable enough in its way, if you can put up with his continual bafflement that the world is not as well run as, say, Fremantle, California. A prime example of a writer who has built a successful career on one joke.

The Decadent Cookbook, ed Alex Martin & Jerome Fletcher (Dedalus, £8.99)

I taining workable recipes for Tomato Sauce, and Dog à la Béti ("prior to being killed, the dog should be tied to a post for a day main in the wild, and stories by Louis de Bernières, Huysmans, inevitably, and Charles Lamb on sucking pig. Not, as you will have gathered, for the squeamish.

Revolution in the Head: The

ness with jaw-dropping facility.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY January 14 1998

# Passion and fetish as high fashion

Eve MacSweeney

The Literary Companion to Fashion by Colin McDowell Sinclair-Stevenson 452pp £20

OSTUME, dandaical not, is in the highest degree expressive, nor is men of Pongo, Nigeria, that they obliged their wives to go naked so tribes, as clothing might have done. The dilemma of fashion, which no

one really escapes, is that to ignore it you have first to consider It: Lord Chesterfield, for example, is twice quoted in this collection admonishing his son: "Dress is a very foolish thing; and yet it is a very foolish thing for a man not to be well dressed . . . " And though the idea of fashion is greeted with marked ambivalence by the British, we all wear clothes and are familiar with their power to make us anxious, self-satisfied, seductive, mortified, enviable or ridiculous. McDowell would appear to have hit on a rich vein.

The basis of his selection, however, seems to shy away from clothing at its most eloquent. Drawn mainly from the 19th and early 20th centuries, with occasional surprises such as Bret Easton Ellis and Thomas Pynchon, he divides his | Give a damn . . . Scarlett and Rhett find fushionable love

woolly categories - The Power of | zine in 1768, in which the writer vis- swarms of animalculas running about Clothes, The Practical Approach, its an elderly aunt having her hair in the utmost consternation... Behind the Scenes, etc. He has a done after nine weeks without washtaste for hearty humour, rollicking ing: "When Mr Gilchrist opened my rhyme and the niceties of convenable detailing the fastidious etiquette of the 19th century dandy. and, in a chapter entitled The Glitter of the Great and Fashionable, indulging in protracted inventories of the aristocratic wardrobe.

be tediously elaborate rather than

material into prosaic and often a passage from The London Maga- to the natural hair, I observed aunt's head, as he called it, I must confess its effluvias affected my sense of smelling disagreeably, which stench, however, did not surprise me when I observed the great variety of materials employed in bing at references to clothes withraising the dirty fabrick. False locks out heed to content or meaning, so to supply the great deficiency of na- that the power of clothes is surpris-These historical excerpts tend to tive hair, pomatum with profusion, greasy wool to bolster up the adopted locks, and grey powder to

vivid. with rare exceptions, such as

conceal at once age and dirt, and all these caulked together by pins of an indecent length and corresponding color. When the comb was applied There are some big scenes here: Scarlett O'Hara puts in a couple of appearances, as does Mrs de Winter when she unwittingly appears whole, McDowell's examples are

> ingly little in evidence. Fashion, in its purest sense. about passion and fetish, of which only glimpses surface here, in the world of French fashion, the corrupting power of clothes, the misogyny of some couturiers, or the skills as a seamstress in Alice Walker's The Color Purple. In a brilliant passage from Mabel Barnes Grundy's An Undressed Heroine, a woman, uncharacteristically welldressed one evening, accuses her lover of "making love to my clothes" and senses that, should she marry him, his love would fall to "dust and ashes at my unsmart feet"

Ultimately, McDowell falls in with the moralists' prejudice that clothes are superficial by treating them as so, rather than as a medium of expression. Clothes as description are dull. Clothes as insight and encetion, on the other hand, do justice to both literature and fashion.

**BOOKS** 29

# to Manhattan

Natasha Walter

Mr Ives' Christmas by Oscar Hijuelos Hodder & Stoughton 248pp £15.99

SCAR HIJUELOS has a Crare talent. Rare, as in unusual, and rare like a steak luicy, tender and full of blood. His breakthrough novel, The Mambo Kings Play Songs of Love, was a hymn to Cuban music, plump thighs and perfumed crotches. His new nove Mr Ives' Christmas, is altogether less fleshy, even if it doesn't exclude the odd excursion into the glossy sexuality that has become his trademark.

Spirituality, not sensuality, is the point. This is the tale of a foundling boy, with - one is led to believe - some Hispanic blood. In a nice old-fashioned picaresque structure, we watch Mr Ives as a child in a care home, then being adopted, finding his talents as an artist, making close friends with Hispanics, getting married to a beautiful American girl and having a beloved son. Then this sweetly satisfying American dream of the small man's success is blown apart one winter day when Ives's son is shot dead on the street.

The sudden intrusion of cruel meaninglessness leads Mr lves to search desperately for the world's meaning. He does so by reading all kinds of half-baked Not only shameless, Sayers was tracts, by praying too much and flirtations to the point of recklessgoing to church, and by making contact with his son's murderer, ness: many of her early letters are taken up with describing her teenage whom he eventually meets and forgives. But this being Hijuelos. the spirituality comes with a distinct sensual punch. At one point, when Ives is sketching in a life class and the male model becomes fiercely aroused, the model "began to produce from his penis a substantial volume of a well-known primal resin, the color of moonlit pearl." And yet. is there a touch of easy listening grand themes, but only dares to she fell madly in love during the | do so by making everything just paragraph of the novel we learn shall say no more than that by form- also an enthusiastic translator of eventually split up because she re- bright", "not wildly funny", and poor poet, a great Christian apolo- traception, which she believed boater, "which gave him a jaunty air". You can almost feel the narrator patting him on the head.

Indeed, his characters are al ways so neatly packaged, there hardly seems any space for the emotional loose ends that would make their next step intriguing. mas of his earlier novels are dent for the News of the World, and \ therefore more successful than this little meditation on one man's story, which would require some existential force to spark it into life. Hijuelos is far better at depicting the delights of the sensual world than the nebulous dreams of the next world.

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# Power of the grapes of wrath

Sean O'Brien

Drink: An Informal Social History by Andrew Barr Bantam 400pp £16.99

IN 1656, Mehmed Koprulu. Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Em- | true is sobering, and leads the pire, learning of the popularity of coffee houses, donned a disguise and went to see for himself. He was ing the ruling council and in general far as I can see, the greatest of these behaving as though the conduct of | three deadly foes is drink." The first the state were any of their business. war marked a watershed in the his-The Vizier then prohibited such | tory of drink in Britain, for it saw gathering-places. Those who in the introduction of the strict licensfringed the law would be in the first | ing laws which it has taken most of instance cudgelled; if found guilty of | this century to change. The ostensia second offence they would be ble reason for the end of all-day

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cording to Andrew Barr, is largely staffed with crackpots and morons. stories are here because they're the capital. reader on to the book's central theme, which is power.

During the first world war Lloyd

state's and the upper classes' perennial anxiety about the behaviour and attitudes of the lower orders. Barr ranges widely about the world (from an admittedly Eurointeresting in his readings of the re-

into the Bosphorus. Drink: An Infor- | product because it enables agriculmal Social History is liberally spiced | tural interests to offload surplus with these side-splitters. History, ac- | corn. At another, Hogarth's Gin | cess in dealing with drink should of alcoholism, sterility, infant mor-The subsequent reflection that the | tality and a declining population is

US. As a contemporary observer remarked: "It was impossible to keep

ROHIBITION itself is some-Out of a muddle of legisla- ian societies. sorbing study deliberately reaches | views are not much recorded. beyond its apparent confines to de-

sure and duty, the individual and authority and so on. People will break any law in order to obtain or, if necessary, manufacture liquor.

necessary in itself. A nation's suc-Lane depicts an urban catastrophe perhaps be judged by its capacity to TATHAT WITH one thing and anrecognise the ambiguous nature of | WW other — that creepy, botched this ancient pleasure. In his conclusion Barr harks back to the cult of the anthology - you can't get away The largest beneficiary of Prohi- Dionysus, suggesting that its vinous from the Beatles these days. Beatlbition, for example, appears to have symbolism of the seasons, of death been Canada, where liquor rev- and rebirth, was in turn domesti- ald's book, though, enues boomed because the authori- cated by worshippers of Christ, the warmed-over hagiography. Every alarmed to find the customers mak- George declared: "We are fighting ties had the foresight to tax what "true vine" of St John's Gospel. Yet song the band released is the occaing free with their opinions, criticis- Germany, Austria and drink; and, as then became illegal imports to the Barr's first source for Dionysus is sion for a mini-essay, detailing Euripides's Bacchae, in which the intoxicated followers of the insulted liquor from dripping through a dot- god tear a victim limb from limb an image which seems to present a mind, what drugs they were on, etc. considerable challenge to incorporation, though similar practices thing that Britain was spared. have persisted in numerous Christ-

sewn into a leather bag and hurled opening was to ensure that the faction, policy shifts, political and It would be interesting to read a invent, lead or closely follow fashtory workers were in a condition to street-level resistance and, above closer inspection by Barr of the produce the munitions and equip- all, the ingenuity of thirst, came a drinking lives of the barely visible. This book answers all these quesment with which to prosecute the kind of accommodation between the mass of working-class people to war. The necessities of the time | English Sunday, church, state, the | whom drink has apparently been a should not, however, disguise the brewer and the punter. Barr's ab- necessity for survival, but whose

There is little sense of the politipict, repeatedly and amusingly, the | cal fact of their lives, or of the medifissure between a society's ideas of ating function of drink for the itself and its true nature. While, be notoriously drunken British. Are pean perspective); he is particularly | hind a bombardment of facts, Barr | they too drunk to rebel? Or is is quietly making a libertarian case | drunkenness a rebellion? They relations between the powers-that-be and implying that drink gets the main a mass, a nation without the and alcohol in the British Isles. He | blame for ills produced elsewhere, | citizenship of pen and paper. The charts a complex set of negotiations | the underlying truth seems to be | Times editorialises. They riot. They between morality and economics: at that drink is an enduring site of con- also persist with alcoholic lemonade one time gin becomes a patriotic | flict between order and chaos, plea- | in place of port,

# Leader in a crisis

Frank Johnson

The Guardian Year '95 ed Georgina Henry Fourth Estate 308pp £12.99

THE GUARDIAN is used to commenting on, say, Bosnia, Rwanda, Palestine, Ireland. But in May 1995 it decided to comment on a crisis. For that was the fateful month in which Dr Germaine Greer attacked Ms Suzanne Moore, All buyers of The Guardian Year '95 will turn first to the extracts from that troubled time.

But Guardian readers were not the first to learn of the gathering storm. Dr Greer's aggression against Ms Moore took place, not in the Guardian, of which she was then a columnist, but in the Spectator tack on her by Ms Moore in some r Greer's womb. Whoever struck with civil war. It did what its most famous editor, C P Scott, would have done. It wrote a leader.

The leader listed Dr Greer's atrocities against Ms Moore. They | pers. included aspersions on Ms Moore's

Moore before going in. Ms Moore between the two, logic must go. could not be found. The leader ex-Two days later, the worsening situation necessitated another leader. It disbelieved "Dr Greer's most extra- Frank Johnson is editor of the ordinary claim . . . that she never in- | Spectator

tended the original version of her column to be printed"

Future historians may conclude crisis. It lost feminism's Grand Old | Detective Novelist Woman, I would have betrayed Ms Moore. If Dr Greer then denied that she had not intended the column to be printed, I would — by publishing her private memo to me, or something — have betrayed her too.

blemish on what was, as this book shows, a good Guardian year. There | to be great without being vulgar. covers them in a section called "Making News". There was the mat- | was great, but Sayers was vulgar. ter of Mr Jonathan Aitken, the Paris then editor was prepared to make | blowsy and a bit of a big-head. Aged himself — as he must have known he was doing - look ridiculous in | Ivy Shrimpton, that her new govthe eyes of Tory journalists like my- erness "does not really know quite I tion and recklessness she then self. He thus served the higher, in- enough for the post"; a couple of promptly got pregnant by another. deed highest, aim of diverting his | years later Ivy herself is upbraided | man, farmed off her son to the care ! readers, as well as those of rival pa- for being inclined to form a harsh of her cousin, the long-suffering Ivy, The crowded, wide-screen dra-

Elsewhere, the book shows that for you very much". lipstick, her taste in footwear the paper is becoming more and leader writer's gentility for the fa- more readable and less and less logi- precocious, the saintly Sayers was becoming a writer. mous 'f\*\*\* me shoes'], her cleav- | cal. Almost anything about Mr Blair, | unusually frank about matters of age, her manner of speech, her | for example, both wishes him on the | sex and money (she liked to loke | weight, her smoking habits and her: country, and warns the country Someone thought that the Green: both logical and readable. But good | bols for pounds, shillings and pence column had better be shown to Ms. journalism seldom is. If it is a choice

But then, the Guardian is one of plained that the authorities then those few publications whose read- an advertising copywriter with the Sayers's novel writing, but before adopted old Scott's solution to all; era expect it to be readable. The lirm of S H Benson. At the height of her books on Christianity. C S Lewis crises - "a period of reflection". brutes have to be thrown their mis- her fame as a novelist, to much con- thought Sayers one of the great Eng-Whereupon Dr Greer resigned, chief all the time: the readers, mean, or perhaps I mean the editors.

# The subtle art of vulgarity

lan Sansom

The Letters of Dorothy L Savers. 1899-1936: The Making of a ed Barbara Reynolds Hodder & Stoughton 421pp £25

Being Vulgar" Dorothy L Sayers once claimed that: "It is, of course, The May crisis was the only all too easy to be vulgar without being great; it is not nearly so easy claim embarrassingly clear: Sayers

13, she complained to her cousin, ber shop".

that she kept the L in Dorothy L against him, Good writing should be: Sayers because it made up the sym-- £.S.D), and perhaps not surprisingly she seems to have been well suited to her job during the 1920s as troversy, she even cashed in by writ- lish letter-writers — the evidence for ing a story for a Horlicks ad, which that will come in the second volume is a bit like Joanna Trollope writing | covering the years when Sayers pro-

crushes, or what she calls "crackations", and she delights in writing home to her parents from Oxford with details of her escapades. Yet she IN A lecture on "The Importance of | was also remarkably self-possessed: when her hair began to fall out due to illness and stress, she took to wearing a silver wig. The most revealing letters. though, are those that show Sayers at her most vulnerable, particularly the period in question. The book | ers's letters makes the truth of this | those to John Cournos, a second- | about Hijuelos? He plays with

rate American novelist, with whom Sayers is of course best known as | early 1920s. Cournos was an un- | a little dinky. In the very first write and the "cod fax". The courts the author of the Lord Peter Wim- pleasant and extremely unscrupuare apparently involved here, so I | sey detective novels, but she was | lous man, and he and Sayers | that Ivea was "not especially print it. Dr Greer's excuse was that | ing an alliance between the liberal | Dante, a middling playwright, a | fused to countenance the use of coneral Mr Mohammed Al Fayed, the gist and, as her letters reveal, bold, would spoil their relationship with what she called "the taint of the rub-

With characteristic determinajudgment, which will spoil your life | married the motoring correspon-As well as being capricious and got down to the serious business of

Barbara Reynolds is already distinguished as the author of the most sensible and scholarly of the various biographies of Sayers (of which there are several, ranging from the simpering to the salacious).

This first volume of letters goes up to 1936, covering the period of copy for Harvey's Bristol Cream, or | duced not only her best work but James Kelman advertising scotch. her most interesting letters.

merry way at another packed New- and was called for a run by Mike ficial. As a result of that he called for lands that it was all over in less than Watkinson. Thorpe was late setting the replay, which of course showed

This win by 10 wickets came after Graham Thorpe and Hick taking the | play but Dave Orchard, the home tourists into credit. It even threat- umpire, trusted his own judgment ened to make batting life hard for and ruled in Thorpe's favour.

South Africa as Hick launched an What followed was uned Adams, which included two huge | under which Test matches are now

straight sixes in a row. But then Hick fell leg-before to one that kept low from Shaun Pol- the cricket dog. the series: the last six England wick- around the ground. The denizens that the way it came left much to be wicket to the delight of the packed ets fell for only 19 runs, the final saw that, far from being home and desired. four in the space of 10 balls, as the dry, Thorpe was out by at least a England were dismissed for 153 Richardson remained unbeaten on wicketkeeper. The end came with tourists were dismissed for 157. It

So a series that for four matches had plodded along like a coalman's horse finished in a tumble of wick- that he had made a decision and including their captain, for 44. ets and a blaze of boundaries — and | that was it, right or wrong — and in-

Sports Dlary Shlv Sharma

on the substitutes' bench for Liv-

and himself into the record books,

It was Rush's 42nd FA Cup goal

and it took him past the competi-

port while Les Ferdinand got an

Rush hour of glory

off, and the sharp Hudson made a Thorpe to be out. Orchard then resparked a cacophony of celebration. bowler's end with Thorpe strug-

What followed was unedifying, the umpire to make use of the requite contrary to the regulations | play but that to do so constitutes displayed, and a further example of

spoke to Thorpe and Orchard.

a controversy over the dismissal of | deed he had committed a double error, by not using the technology NTHE end South Africa won at a canter in the afternoon Cape icant innings of the series, had sun. Asked to make only 67 to reached 59 when he played a delivor of laying down the law to Cronje. ery from the left-arm spinner Paul however, he was persuaded to conand Gary Kirsten (41) made such. Adams off his hips to short fine leg sult Steve Randell, the Australian of-

> versed his original decision. It appeared to be a clear case for the third umpire and his video review Dave Orchard the late of the That Orchard made a huge initial lations for Test matches, agreed last October, state unequivocally not only that players must not appeal to

In this case, Cronje and others in his side not only implored Orchard to think again but in effect coerced The broadcaster's response to the | an umpire into reversing a decision. spell of fast bowling. It gave Pollock | incident was to replay it instantly, | Raymond Illingworth, chairman of the best figures of his brief Test ca- which meant it was seen in the England selectors, said he felt the reer, five for 32, and South Africa | many hospitality boxes and bars | right decision had been made but

foot. A roar went up, alerting the on the first day, Robin Smith being was as if the fight had drained out of fielding side, and the South Africa | the only batsman to offer any resiscaptain Hansie Cronje immediately tance with a gritty 66. In the 20 overs that South Africa were al-Orchard, correctly, took the view | lowed in reply they lost two wickets,

England's spirits were high when



survives, only to be outed by the TV replay

they reduced the home side to 171 | slip off Pollock. Robin Smith, the for nine, but then Dave Richardson | added 44 runs with Thome, w crowd. Adams was out for 29 while front pad and past his glove wit Derby had peaked too early. 54. South Africa's total of 244, a lead versed the whole tone of the day. When Atherton, so often the cornerstone of the England side, fell for 10. | Final scoreboard: England, 15: the tourists were in trouble.

Alec Stewart was caught at first | for 0. South Africa won by 10 wire | first time since October - when

Peter Martin hooked Pollock: steepling catch look easy.

SAMANTHA BREWSTER A SOPHISTICATED Curiously, the goals continued to launched another attempt to be- A machine which may toll: come in pairs. Sixty-six seconds

OUNTY champions Warm Robert Armstrong Shire have ruled out a more at Cardiff Arms Park re-sign Brian Lara after remain

the London club Saracens.

Tottenham 1; Hudderaffeld 2; Blackpool 1; land 2; Milwall 3, Oxford Utd 3; Norwich 1. Brentford 2; Notte Co 1, Middlesbrough 2; Peterborough 1; Wrexham 0; Plymouth 1; Coventry 3; Reading 3, Giffingham 1;

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE: Second Division Bournemouth 1, Bristol C 1; Bristol Rvrs 2, Huli 1; Rotherham 2, York 2. Leading positions: 1, Citawe (played 22, points 44); 2, Swindon (22-44); 3, Blackpool (22-39).

Third Division: Barnet 1, Preston 0; Bury 4, Doncaster 1; Cambridge Utd 1, Chester 1; Cardiff 0, Leyton Orient 0; Darlington 1, Northamp- 2, Brechin (18-32); 3, Ross County III

First Division: Clydebank 1, Dunder Welsh neighbou ceived from the semi-final Cardiff have certainly won new Leading positions: 1, Dunder (18-54)

2, Dunder Utd (21-37); 3, Dunder (18-54)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Football FA Cup third round: Derby County 2 Leeds United 4

# Demolition Derby in injury time

N ENRAPTURED Baseball Ground crowd rose as one at the final whistle after a layishly entertaining match. They had seen Leeds claw their way back into a tie that had been slipping away from them to beat Derby with two injury-time goals to earn a fourthround trip to Bolton.

Although Derby had had to play for almost an hour with 10 men after Gary Rowett's dismissal, the First Division leaders had taken a 2-0 ead early in the second half.

On the previous weekend Leeds had played for 73 minutes against an Everton side reduced to 10 men but had performed ineptly in a comprehensive defeat. That lesson leared to have been ignored Derby struck twice in two minutes Marco Gabbiadini benefited from

and Paul Adams, playing only his caught by another poor Orchard out his leg between the dithering Adams, the ball deflecting from! push into an unguarded net. But Although Leeds's rank inconsis-

lency must have Howard Wilkinson of 91, culled from nowhere, re- long leg where Adams mak: watching his team from behing worried himself here. It was a struggle but eventually Derby were suband 157; South Africa, 244 and it dued, defeated on home soil for the they were eliminated from the Coca-Cola Cup by the same opponents. Curiously, the goals continued to



knotted hands, he need not have post, Brian Deane equalised by stab- | Wilkinson afterwards, "We are an | ternational did not. The Rams' most bing in a Dorigo cross which had

> been helped on its way by Yeboah. selves out of a hole." The tie was deep into added time before it was settled. Gary McAllismarked contrast to a first half singuter pushed in the decisive third after Derby had failed to intercept Beeney's huge clearance, then Tony | quick succession. Midway through | sent off after preventing Deane | Yeboah cruelly lobbed another. "My lot will drive me crazy, they'll tact from an innocuous collision with right arm to pull down the Leeds

honest side and today we dug our- complete footballer was lifted on to a stretcher, his hands locked around Events after the interval were in his right knee.

Derby were dealt two major blows in fellow defender Rowett, who was the half Deane rose smartly and in- from sprinting clear by using his

SPORT 31

## Ford to back Stewart team

**Motor Racing** 

**Alan Henry** 

THE high-profile new partnership between Jackie Stewart's fledgling grand prix team and Ford for the 1997 season was officially announced last week at the Detroit Motor Show

Stewart Grand Prix, as the team will be titled, have a fiveyear agreement, believed to be worth £50 million, for the exclu sive use of Ford's Formula One engines and will take over supplies of the three-litre Zetec-R V10s when Ford's current contract with the Swiss-based Sauber team expires at the end of this year.

"This announcement will put an end to speculation concerning Ford's commitment to F1," said Stewart, "Ford is commi ted to raising the level of its involvement in the sport, and that commitment will be for the long term."

Stewart's new operation will be based at premises in Milton Keynes where his son's team, Paul Stewart Rocing, already has its headquarters. Stewart junior will be managing director of Stewart Grand Prix and the existing team will wind down its in Eight minutes later Stimac was volvement in other single-seater larly lacking in appeal, although joined in the dressing room by his categories at the end of the coming senson to concentrate exclusively on F1.

The first Stewart-Ford F1 car is expected to be ready to test by

5 English colony confused with

6 Composer of "The Martyred

B Saw the negative principle in

hopeful note inside (6)

10 Hell of a clue for Pi! (10,3)

14 Marsupial, a stunner, in the

15 Part I in a short day has "a

19 Dredge the River Swan? (6)

22 Fishy drawing of 10 down in

fashion of a carnivore (5.4)

16 A boy to call up male voice choir

Mountain" (5,4)

loss of tension (6)

grievous fault" (8)

in unison? (2,3,3)

18 Non-vocal beat? (6)

suburb? That's all right then

Adriatic merchantman strikes a

### high-resolution mass spectron: Rugby Union Heineken European Cup final

# ber, was invalidated when her bont months before they compete. Every which way Toulouse

they were close to agreeing ter A PENALTY in the last minute of their grateful club committee. Thomas Castaignèrle, at 20 the ris- lable ability suddenly to open up ing star of French rugby, paved the areas of unmarked space and punway for a deserved triumph with a lish errors with a lightning countertry, a drop goal and a vital pass for a attack. touchdown by Jerome Cazalbou.

Tom Kiernan, the former Ireland | captain, welcomed the opportunity silver trophy to the winners. The title in a genuinely pan-European competition next season. "We have less about passing up the £1,000 won our domestic championship each on offer for a win than by their | twice in a row so it was more imporscores level 10 minutes from time,
Hereford, from the bottom half of
the Third Division, were another

Their Division Di failure to cross the French line in | tant for us this season to enter Eu-

TENNENTS SCOTTISH OUP: Second round: Ayr O, Ross County 2; Bendid 2 Arnan Ath 3; Caledorian T 3, Livings 2 Arnan Ath 3; Caledorian T 3,

ined as a speciacle by the heavy

rainfall over the weekend were

quickly dispelled by the French

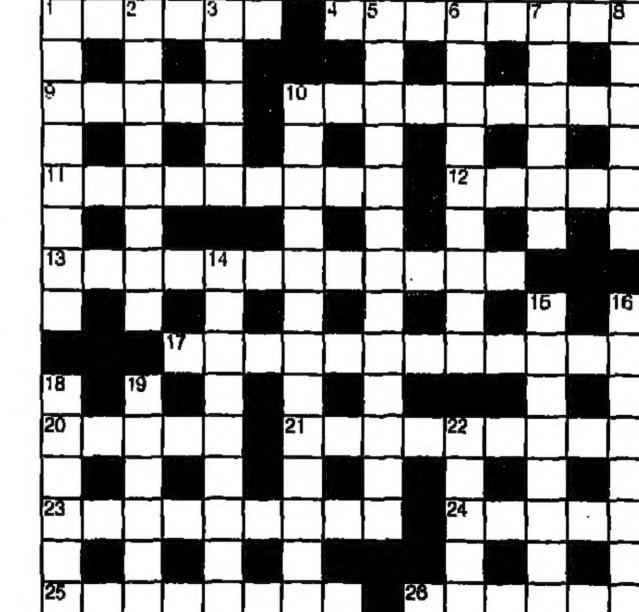
next week, demonstrated a remark-

Emile Ntamack, the Toulouse

ceived from the semi-final stage. the traditional French forward morals? (7,5)

(ardiff have certainly won new ad- blend of the good, the bad and the about province (5)

Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



9 Electric company gets a big shock on the Lizard (5)

11 Woodwork at the fish gate (9)

17 Consequences, etc., of Prague

working belied? (8)

Governess\*? (5)

expense (4,4)

Last week's solution

E P N U F O X
MERITINFERIOR
U O R C L S N M
NUNNISH CHOLERA
E C E E R L
RASTA TERMAGANT A T T P T E TRACELESS PRESS VERTIGO ONEIRIC E W N T O C E R PERUVIAN ALAMO LRSERLS

missing a penalty. scorer for the Gunners.

Coventry, QPR and West Ham.

Sheffield United live to fight an- years. But the forecasts of a 15th opother day. Dane Whitehouse eration has finally broken his re Cother brilliant second run to grabbed an equaliser 11 minutes | solve. Lake, who made his debut for from time to earn them a replay | City in 1987 and hit trouble three | victory in the men's Alpine skiling against Arsenal. Ian Wright was the | years later, said: "All I ever wanted | World Cup race at Flachau, Austria, Among the clubs through to the | City just one more time." fourth round are Aston Villa, Leeds United, Bolton, Middlesbrough,

AN RUSH, awarded an MBE in | wall and Oxford ended as draws. the New Year Honours' List, was | Full results, below right. The FA Cup on Saturday followed

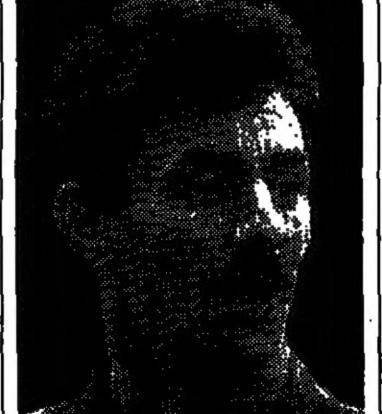
erpool's third-round FA Cup match | the Premiership in sweeping away against Rochdale. But within min- restrictions on European Union utes of taking the field, he had fired | players in the wake of the Bosman ed his team into a five-goal lead — | judgment. Clubs can now field as many EU players as they require.

tion's all-time top scorer, Denis Law. | COTBALLERS Bruce Grobbe-Stan Collymore continued his recent | I laar, Hans Segers, John Fashanu good form to score a hat-trick as | and the Malaysian businessman Rochdale were given a 7-0 drubbing. Heng Suan Lim, facing charges con-All the major teams who went | cerning match-rigging, were further | final. Johnson was at the club for into the competition were still there; remanded to appear at a committal held 2-2 by Second Division Stock-

equaliser deep into injury time land almost caused a major upset the 1985 Heysel Stadium tragedy. 1,020 after contributing 24 points to Federation Cup. against Manchester United at Old | The clubs have agreed plans for a | the total. The Great Britain scrum-Trafford. United were trailing 1-2 friendly match in Boston, possibly until Eric Cantona brought the on August 11.

club that came close to glory. Tak- | courageous battle against in- | defeat in Warrington's history. ing on Tottenham Hotspur, they jury. In one of the most determined! the other semi-final, Wigan humheld their Premiership opponents to | efforts to rebuild a sporting career, | bled Leeds 38-18. a 1-1 draw, despite their captain | the Manchester City player had surgery on his knee 14 times in five

Matches between Manchester City and Leicester, Ipswich, and Black- Johnson, guit after his team suf- of her 12-year career at Maribor. burn, Stoke and Nottingham Forest, | fered a record 80-0 humiliation by St | Slovenia, with a combined time of Watford and Wimbledon and Mill- Helens in the Regal Trophy semi- min 45.36sec.



more than 10 years as player and half kicked 12 goals and had a hand in 12 of his side's 14 tries. Records

∧ LBERTO TOMBA produced anrecord his third consecutive slalom World Cup race at Flachau, Austria, Southempton 3, Portsmouth 0; Stoke 1, Nottrn on Sunday. The Italian, fourth going into the second leg, clocked the to do was pull on the blue shirt of | on Sunday. The Italian, fourth going ond-best time of 53sec and a winning combined time of 1 min ARRINGTON Rugby League | 41.05sec. Sweden's Kristina Anders-VV club's Australian boss, Brian son won the first World Cup slalom

come the first woman to sail solo | death knell for the drug cheats it | after Gary Speed had planted a east-to-west around the world when | pected to make its Olympic debti | sweet left-foot shot inside the far | send me to an early grave," said | Igor Stimac, but Derby's Croatian in- forward. she left the Brazilian port of Santos | Atlanta this summer. The Libert last week. An earlier bid by the lone sailor, who left Southampton aboard | will enable experts to detect dis the 67ft Heath Insured in late Octo- taken by participants sec. sustained considerable damage and she had to make a detour to have it

IVI played tennis since she lost the | with South African fast book | Textra time earned the French | backs, who relished the billiard-US Open final to Germany's Steffi | Shaun Pollock, Lara asked to ber | champions Toulouse a 21-18 victory | table surface the Arms Park Graf four months ago, plans to compete in all four Grand Siam tournaments this year with Wimbledon, ago but announced on Sunday in their ments this year with Wimbledon, ago but announced on Sunday in their ments the control of the the only major event she has never open to offers. won, as her main target. Seles, in at the end. Holders Everton were hearing at Southampton on March 18. | coach and succeeded Tony Barrow | Sydney to take part in this week's as team boss in 1988. St Helens cap- New South Wales Championship, tain Bobby Goulding, refreshed said she intends to play a full tour- Athe greatest points score! IVERPOOL are likely to meet Juafter a three-match ban, went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stand the ventus in the summer in the the match with 996 points to credit months, plus appearances in the 911 points at Test level — went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stands to credit months, plus appearances in the 911 points at Test level — went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stands to credit months, plus appearances in the 911 points at Test level — went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stands to credit months, plus appearances in the 911 points at Test level — went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stands to credit months, plus appearances in the 911 points at Test level — went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stands to credit months, plus appearances in the 911 points at Test level — went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stands to credit months, plus appearances in the 911 points at Test level — went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stands to credit months, plus appearances in the 911 points at Test level — went into nament schedule over the next 12 world rugby — his tally stands to credit months. United's treble dream alive. Sunder- United States for the first time since and ended it with a career total of Olympic Games in Atlanta and the three-year deal on Monday to Fill-back, presented the seven-kilo

Football results

Charlion 2, Sheff Wed 0, Chelses 1, Newcastle 1; Crews 4, West Brom 3; Crystal Palace 0, Port Vale 0; Derby 2, Leeds 4; Everton 2, Stockport 2; Futham 1, Shrewsbury 1; Grevesend & N O, Aston Vita 3; Grimsby 7, Luton 1; Hereford 1, Ipswich 0, Blackburn 0, Leicester 0, Man City 0; Liverpool 7, Rochdale 0; Man Utd 2, Sunder-

2, Freserburgh 2.

No doubt the English and the Scots who will enter the event under Partick 0, Hearts 1; Resh 1, Response 4; Partick 0, Hearts 1; Resh 1, Resh

Third Division: Arbroath 2. Abidi C. Leading positions: 1, LMngslon(17) Fears that the final might be ru-

1.4 Ancient patriarch in rash development by fiery charlot racer? (6,8)

10 Push-chair, a pet project with an infestation (4.5)

12 A month in Spain is a nulsance

21 Schlam from church during

23 American writer backed in to knock down our leaders (3,6) 24 Author of "Reflections of a

25 Under 50% being under 18 (8) 26 Big gun at billiards (6)

1 Called once about firms at great 2 One who makes notes with pipe

3 Free love comes in to be parted

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